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Citation: Byrne, Tatjana (2014) Critical discourses of cultural policy and artistic practice: a comparative study of the contemporary dance fields in the UK and Germany. [Thesis] (Unpublished)

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**Critical Discourses of Cultural Policy and Artistic
Practice: A Comparative Study of the Contemporary
Dance Fields in the UK and Germany**

**A Thesis Submitted by
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**Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Management
University of London
2014**

Declaration

The work presented in this thesis is that of the candidate, Tatjana Byrne.

DATE: 7TH AUGUST 2014

SIGNED:

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my thesis supervisor, Professor Soo Hee Lee for the encouragement and guidance that he has given throughout the term of this PhD.

I would also like to thank the PhD Programme Director, Dr. Frederick Guy, for his understanding during the final phase of the completion and submission of this thesis.

Abstract

The advent of overtly instrumental cultural policy making since the 1990s in Europe shows variations in both its articulation and implementation. Whilst discourses of globalisation and neo-liberalism are frequently cited to justify policy instrumentalism, a consistent explanation of how policy making in different countries is linked to localised outcomes is not apparent. This thesis aims to close this explanatory gap by investigating the institutional arrangements of policy making and implementation in two European countries with distinct traditions of cultural administration, i.e. the UK and Germany, using the contemporary dance sector in each country as a site of investigation.

This thesis adopts a comparative-historical approach to examine firstly, the cultural policy and contemporary dance sectors of the UK and Germany, using key policy texts and initiatives to uncover the primary logics inherent in the texts. Secondly, we identify how these extrinsic logics are privileged at the expense of alternative, intrinsic logics using rhetorical strategies imported from other policy areas. Thirdly, we apply a moderated form of critical discourse analysis to examine how these strategies and logics are appropriated by actors and organizations in the dance fields of both countries using Bourdieuan concepts of capital to effect changes of identity and legitimacy as a means to gain access to scarce resources. Finally, we assess the impact of instrumental policies on organizational practices and identity using case examples from both Germany and the UK. The emphasis on discourses generated by both policy makers and dance practitioners and organizations reflects the social constructivist perspective inherent in the analysis of the thesis. Furthermore the underlying assumption that much of what is under investigation is dependent on the context in which it is situated, signifies that more than one interpretation of the observations is possible. We use embedded case study examples that are representative of the contemporary dance sector in the UK and Germany and intended as illumination rather than as a deductive source of material for theory building. Thus, we adhere to the particularist view of convergent and divergent discourses and practices, whereby both institutional arrangements and culture are key determinants in the explanation of variations in cultural policy and its outcomes between countries.

We argue that variations in socio-political and historical trajectories, institutional structures and processes mediate the forms of compliance and resistance observed amongst dance practitioners in each country. This thesis contributes to the literature on institutional logics by examining the nature of power relationships between dance practitioners and cultural and political organizations in constructing identity and legitimacy for artistic practice.

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CHAPTER ONE Introduction

1.1 Background and Impetus for the Research

This chapter introduces the context and purpose behind the research presented in this dissertation, the proposed contribution to academic work in this area, the research questions, the choice and rationale for the choice of research design, strategy and methods and the structure adopted for analysis and presentation of the argument, findings and conclusions for the dissertation as a whole.

The focus of the research is on the form of dance termed ‘contemporary’. For the purposes of the research presented here the definition of the term ‘contemporary dance’ reflects that used by Burns & Harrison (2009) in their report for the ACE, Dance Mapping 2004-2008, who have:

“...defined contemporary dance as all dance which is contemporaneous, i.e. dance made today, which offers insight into the world and its emotion, interaction and behaviour through the language of the body and its relationship both with itself and with others” (Burns & Harrison, 2009. p. 22).

This definition distinguishes contemporary dance from other dance forms such as folk dance or classical ballet in that it has no identifiable links to particular genres, dance traditions or choreographic forms.

The German term for contemporary dance is ‘zeitgenössischer Tanz’ and is characterised by its diversity as a transdisciplinary art form by the dance scholar Johannes Odenthal:

“Der zeitgenössische Tanz versteht sich nicht auf der Basis nur einer Technik oder ästhetischen Form, sondern aus der Vielfalt heraus. Er sucht Grenzüberschreitungen zwischen den Künsten und bricht immer wieder mit vorhandenen Formen. Zeitgenössischer Tanz in diesem Sinne hat eine offene Struktur, die sich bewusst von festgelegten, linearen Entwürfen der Klassik und Moderne absetzt.”¹

¹ Source: Verein zur Förderung des zeitgenössischen Tanzes Rhein-Neckar e.V. [Accessed at <http://www.vezt.de/tanz.htm> on 20 August 2013].

Translation: “Contemporary dance cannot be considered just on the basis of being a technique or an aesthetic form, but is much more diverse than that. It seeks out intersections between the arts and constantly breaks away from existing forms. In this sense contemporary dance has an open structure, which consciously distinguishes itself from set, linear classical and modern designs.”

Combining the two definitions we therefore understand contemporary dance to be a movement form that transcends prescribed techniques and aesthetics to give primacy above all to the body and movement.

1.2 Context of the Research

Since the Second World War British governments have struggled to define clear policies on the arts and provide a definitive position on the role of the arts in UK society. Belfiore and Bennett have identified eight categories or ‘functions’ of the arts that encompass both ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ traditions ranging from a claim that the arts corrupt to the current preoccupation with arts’ role as a source of wealth creation. In recent decades the UK, in common with other European governments, has sought to reconcile the traditionally elitist image that many ‘high art’ forms have with a range of social welfare aims. This has been particularly true of Germany and France. However, the UK’s previous Labour administration (1997 until 2010), in promulgating its so-called ‘Third Way’ ideology, consciously sought to link cultural policy objectives to its market-oriented social welfare aims. The latter were seen as a response to the prevalence of neo-liberal and globalization discourses and the ‘Third Way,’ under Tony Blair’s administration, was seen as a means to bridge the gap between the New Public Management (NPM) policies of the previous Conservative government and the social democratic aspirations of the traditional Labour Party by emphasising the concept of evidence-based policy making that:

“...required all parts of the public sector to make demonstrable contributions to government objectives and to meet specified targets”
(Belfiore and Bennett, 2008, p.7).

The tension that resulted from the imposition of such ‘instrumental’ or extrinsic approaches to cultural policy with the more familiar ‘intrinsic’ value of the arts has generated considerable debate amongst academics and arts professionals, especially where arts practitioners are dependent on public sector funding. In these cases, as will be demonstrated, the aesthetic value of an artistic activity has been subordinated to other objectives, specifically social welfare aims such as urban renewal, improved health, accessibility and increased social cohesion.

The overarching discourse that the Labour administration drew on to combine economic objectives (profitability and independence from subsidies) with artistic creativity and social policy success was the ‘cultural’ or ‘creative’ industries’ discourse; a prominent one amongst many developed economies looking for other sources of wealth creation in the wake of industrial decline and dependence on a service sector subject to large fluctuations in employment levels. We show that this discourse is not uniformly applicable to the arts and as an all-encompassing discourse obscures concerns about perceptions of value and the meaning of creativity.

Against this background the research examines the impact of cultural policies in the UK and in Germany as they apply specifically to the contemporary dance sector, a field heavily dependent on public subsidy in most Western European countries. Additionally, a contextual comparison between the UK and Germany seeks to identify logics promulgated through cultural and dance policy discourse influencing notions of legitimacy, identity and artistic practice and how they differ between the two countries. This comparison takes into account historical and political factors affecting cultural politics in both countries today and assesses how those factors manifest themselves in the responses of dance artists, professionals and organizations to cultural policy applicable to the contemporary dance field using illustrative case examples from both countries.

In adopting a constructivist approach and language-oriented analysis of the key policy-related texts we have selected critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the main methodological tool in order to understand better the discursive strategies used to legitimate government policy and to operationalise it amongst organizations and dance professionals in the field.

1.3 Research Purpose

The research aims to establish how government policies on culture and contemporary dance affect legitimacy, identity and artistic practice in the field through a comparative analysis between the UK and German contemporary dance sectors. Examining discourses that are created and maintained both organizationally and individually the analysis seeks to identify how actors, i.e. dance field professionals and practitioners including artists, journalists and members of cultural, political and academic circles ‘make sense’ (in terms of Weick’s (1995) understanding of sensemaking) of policy-related objectives and their enactment. The operationalisation of those policies is examined using illustrative examples of dance organizations, whereby the choice of organizations (The Place and Dance Umbrella in the UK and the Berlin contemporary dance scene in Germany as well as the HZT, Berlin’s first conservatoire for contemporary dance) has been informed by their importance and role in their respective national fields.

The analysis applies a synthesis of organizational theory, specifically in the areas of ‘conflicting logics of institutional change’ and historic institutionalism, (Townley (et al.), (2002 & 2009); Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007) and sociological theory based on the work of Pierre Bourdieu to the arts sector and in particular, the field of modern, or contemporary dance and its practitioners to examine how cultural policy affects practice (Bourdieu, 1993[1]; Thomas 2003). In doing so a critical perspective has been adopted in order to draw out the tensions and areas of conflict that arise through the operationalisation of government policy.

We examine what strategies, e.g. forms of discursive rhetoric (Brown et al., 2012) and mechanisms, for example, Bourdieu’s so-called ‘pedagogic’ practices² are applied to the dance field using critical discourse analysis to draw out the diversity and complexity of the responses to the introduction of insurgent logics to the field. This is done firstly by examining how discursive strategies developed by policy makers are used to legitimate cultural-political

² Pedagogic practices are control mechanisms imposed on actors to conform with certain objectives imposed by actors or organizations in a more dominant position, e.g. as a result of more resources such as financial, social, political.

texts and secondly by identifying the resources (or in Bourdieu's terminology, capital, to enforce policy, both consciously and unconsciously.

Underlying the research is the view that whilst dance organizations might adopt practices and legitimisation criteria that reflect public policy objectives such overt attempts to shape fields of cultural production are mediated by dominant individual and professional dispositions. These dispositions are subject to pre-determined influences so that responses are contingent upon previous history and experience. Thus, where alternative practices or legitimation criteria are externally applied in order to alter the level of representation and consequently influence amongst certain social groups the influence of expert, existing legitimated 'professional' forms of validation can serve to mediate or moderate the influence of these extrinsic attempts to subvert or manipulate hitherto taken-for-granted notions of legitimacy amongst dance professionals (Neelands et al., 2006).

The question of how and to what extent different professional norms influence the shaping of institutional behaviours and responses is examined by W. Richard Scott (Scott, 2008) in his assessment of professionals as institutional agents, in which he claims that:

"More so than any other social category, the professions function as institutional agents – as definers, interpreters, and appliers of institutional elements. Professionals are not the only, but are – I believe – the most influential, contemporary crafters of institutions" (Scott, 2008, p.223).

The contribution of this dissertation aims to bridge the gap between institutional theory (specifically institutional logics) and dance studies, particularly in relation to the multi-level analysis of legitimacy, identity and artistic practice. We also contribute to the literature on historic institutionalism by demonstrating the historically contingent nature of cultural policy making and its dissemination through a comparative analysis of the trajectories of cultural and dance policy in the UK and Germany from the 19th century up to the present day.

1.4 Research Questions

Four main research questions have been formulated that test the concepts of legitimacy, identity, artistic practice and power in the context of the UK and German contemporary dance sectors as a consequence of the introduction of extrinsic logics and discourses through cultural and dance policy texts.

1.4.1 Legitimacy

The concept of legitimacy is one that is explored extensively by Bourdieu in his work on cultural reproduction and symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1984, 1993[2]). In these works he argues that culture and the arts can be used to draw dividing lines between people based on their educational and social backgrounds. Thus, the appeal and consumption of different cultural forms by different social groups is not only informed by the inherent aesthetic appeal of the art form, but also by the means by which these art forms are legitimated (i.e. in the articulation and dissemination of relevant government policy) and how legitimacy is contested between protagonists.

Moreover, the struggle for legitimacy is also about the competition for resources amongst actors as they compete to position themselves most advantageously in relation to cultural policy:

“But the point (scarcely taken up by his [Bourdieu’s] listeners) was this: there was a sense in which such debates about cultural policy had nothing to do with the people about which they were ostensibly concerned, and everything to do with the ongoing power struggles for resources and symbolic capital among the fractions of the dominant class” (Ahearne, 2004 p.44).

Thus the study examines how firstly, legitimacy is established through cultural policy articulation and dissemination and secondly, how it is contested (i.e. appropriated or maintained) by protagonists in order that they are favourably positioned to gain access to resources or capital, mainly economic. This leads to the first research question, namely:

1 How is the legitimacy of cultural policy constructed (claimed and maintained) in the dance sector?

1.4.2 Identity

In the broader field of organizational identity literature research attention is directed either at the alignment of actors with organizational objectives or with the derivation of status from an association with an organization.

Anthropological literature concerning identity in dance has tended to concern itself with national cultural identity, gender and genre and how these are perceived in terms of movement, the body and politics. In *Europe Dancing* (2000) contributors offer perspectives from several European countries on national cultural identity, linking it to debates on the seeming paradox of homogenisation of culture through the process of globalisation and simultaneously the fragmentation of cultural processes regionally, locally, politically and ethnically (Braidotti, 1996 [cited in Grau & Jordan, 2000, p.2]).

Specific examples include an examination of the contemporary dance scene in Belgium and how it serves both the notion of a distinctive Flemish 'dance identity' and supports several choreographers in the construction of individual artistic identities (Laermans & Gielen, 2000). Bonnie Rowell also focuses on dance's identity in the UK and its obligation to accommodate multiple influences from its former colonies whilst retaining a cultural divide between itself and both Europe and America (Rowell, 2000, p.200). Stephanie Jordan also reflects on this theme in her work *Striding Out* (1992), where she explores the two main trends in UK contemporary dance that emerged during the late 1960s and 1970s as alternatives to the expressionistic forms that had dominated the contemporary dance scene until then and come from the European continent and the U.S.

When identity is explored at an individual level the emphasis is on the choreographer-dancer and the nature of the aesthetic-artistic process that characterises him or her as an artist. The body as a source of identity in terms of movement genres and styles of dress is also considered by researchers concerned with the role of the body in acquiring power, status and access to resources (Thomas, 2003, pp.56-57). Other actors are considered more peripherally and mainly in policy-related documents that consider their roles

more in the light of support for a variety of not specifically artistic objectives such as school dance co-ordination (Siddall, 2010) or the use of dance in higher education to equip students with more entrepreneurial skills when embarking on their professional careers (Burns, 2007).

However, as we demonstrate, roles or identities ascribed by one group to another can be met with overt resistance, as in the case of disabled dance groups seeking to develop new aesthetics (Roy, 2009³) and in spite of discourse that simply emphasises accessibility and inclusion on behalf of disadvantaged participants. This leads to our second research question, which concerns itself specifically with the discourses used by different agents concerning the construction and maintenance of legitimacy and identity, namely:

2 How and by whom are insurgent logics appropriated to effect changes to notions of legitimacy and identity?

1.4.3 Creativity and Artistic Practice

Creativity is a core concept associated with artistic practice. Traditionally, it has been associated with the creation of works that are original, i.e. new or innovative in some form and have not been directly derived from other sources or with individuals and that are deemed to have value (Bilton & Leary, 2002, p.51). Boden (1994) distinguishes between incremental problem-solving creativity and major, discrete changes in insight or understanding that can lead to completely new scientific discoveries. Value can be either cultural or economic depending on circumstance and social context and its conceptualisation has been further refined to incorporate symbolic or communicative meaning and functional or use value (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007, pp.20-21), but is often ignored as it is difficult to prove or to measure (Bilton & Leary, 2002, p.52). This combination of context and organization necessitates combining knowledge, networks and technologies with specific situations and ideas (Jeffcutt and Pratt, 2002, p.226) in order to achieve a creative outcome.

³ Source: Guardian newspaper. Available at www.guardian.co.uk/stage/2009/jan/06/dance-candoco?intcmp=239.

The process of creativity has also been the subject of much research, shifting the focus away from the individual and towards the collective. This ‘systems’ theory of creativity implies complexity and unpredictability and the inputs of different types of individuals in order to produce something that not only has potential value, but that can be realised in a tangible form. In their assessment Bilton & Leary (2002) argue that a combination of creative individuals and managers or ‘brokers’ are necessary to turn innovative thinking into productive, economically viable outputs.

The very fluidity of the concept of creativity and its association with the Creative Industries’ (CI) discourse has seen it conflated with terminology such as ‘cultural entrepreneurialism’ that emphasises the commercial potential of creative and cultural activity. In the context of the dance sector we show that ‘knowledge’ can refer to a range of artistic, e.g. choreographic as well as non-artistic capabilities, e.g. commercial acumen. Equally the term ‘networks’ can be used to refer to groups of artists, companies and dance organizations who combine resources or collaborate for the purposes of creating, distributing, performing, recording and managing dance-related events. We also argue that the term ‘networks’ is used to imply the ability to ‘leverage’ resources for various purposes and to achieve specific objectives. Furthermore, in our comparison of cultural policy in the UK and Germany we illustrate that the timing and sequencing and institutional residence of the CI discourse is relevant to the relative impact of the economic and commercial arguments on artistic practice.

The use of technology in a Creative Industries context is extensively examined in intellectual property debates. Within the creativity debate the role of digital technology in dance ranges from one that is seen in a negative light as a displacement of the body and the real to one that has the potential to synthesise a new form of aesthetic (Broadhurst, 1999; Dodds, 2001; Birringer 2002). Also its potential for facilitating the distribution of dance or as a source of reference material or inspiration is recognised, but not well researched in terms of issues like copyright. What is less well understood is to what extent digital technology affects creative or artistic practice, i.e. whether it materially replaces the existing conventions or habitus of the practitioners themselves? This refers to both projection technology as well as digital archiving technology, whereby the former is a direct part of the actual performance or

dance event whilst the latter informs the creative process as a reference source. Digital media not only display the steps that form the dance work, but are able to record the creative process as well⁴.

The centrality of creativity to cultural politics brings us to our third research question, which explores how artistic and organizational practice is affected by the legitimization strategies used in cultural policy discourses on creativity:

3 What impact do insurgent logics have on artistic and organizational practices?

1.4.4 Practice and the Enactment of Power in the Contemporary Dance Field

Having explored the nature of legitimacy in the context of policy, identity and artistic practice discourse we examine how the struggle for legitimacy affects power relations within the UK and German contemporary dance fields. The analysis draws on Bourdieu's work on fields and capital, which contends that fields are sites of struggle over resources, whereby capital or resources in various forms (social, economic, symbolic) functions as a "social relation of power" (Swartz, 1997, p.122). In other words, power is not about coercion, but about complicity in various forms of political domination and subordination strategies in order to gain access to resources necessary to function in the dance field. Swartz highlights the importance of legitimacy as the source of power and influence when he observes that:

"Actors also struggle over the very definition of what are to be considered the most valued resources in fields. This is particularly true in cultural fields, where style and knowledge change rapidly. In other words, fields are arenas of struggle for legitimation: in Bourdieu's language, for the right to monopolize the exercise of "symbolic violence" (Swartz, 1997, p.123).

At stake in this struggle for legitimacy and resource are notions of identity and what it means to be creative. Germane to this struggle are the

⁴ Source: Observation made by Kenneth Tharp, Chief Executive of The Place during an interview recorded on 20 April 2011.

influences external and internal to the field in question that direct or enforce criteria that define what is to be regarded as ‘legitimate’.

Importantly, as the analysis will seek to demonstrate, possession of, or privileged access to, economic capital does not necessarily mean that alternative criteria for legitimacy will be able to assert themselves. An example of this in the UK dance field is exemplified by Neelands et al. (2006) work on the Dance and Drama Awards (DADA) scheme in which he argues that despite New Labour’s interventions in the UK performing arts training market through affirmative action and a ‘limited redistribution of the capital and resource available’ to encourage greater participation by low socio-economic groups, the disabled and British Minority Ethnic (BME) groups, there are limits to what can be achieved without more radical ‘transformative action’ of the values and structures underlying the performing arts training market.

In Germany we illustrate how criteria addressing perceived quality and artistic intent are used to demonstrate resistance by dance artists to the claims of community dance practitioners that the genre is of equivalent artistic merit to other forms of artistic undertaking (Walter, 2008, p.2).

This leads to our fourth research question:

4 In what ways do the outcomes of the cultural policy legitimization strategies shape relative positions of power within the dance field?

1.5 Research Design: Strategy and Methods

The research design combines concepts in institutional and organizational theory with cultural policy debates and dance studies with the aim of bridging perceived gaps in the study of collective versus individual identity, artistic practice and power in cultural fields.

The research strategy adopts an interpretive, comparative-historical approach to the comparison of dance policy in the UK and Germany. The purpose of this combined strategy is firstly, to highlight particular cultural-political features of each country and secondly to identify the similarities and differences in cultural policy and its trajectory in both countries (Bendix [cited in Skocpol, 1984, pp.369-370]). This takes into account historical roles played by

the arts in each country and the underlying logics that inform attitudes towards the arts, the types of institutions involved in the development of cultural policy and their historical trajectories as a means to inform the nature of institutional arrangements in place today in both countries today and an assessment of the artistic and social roles(s) played by dance.

The specific comparative-historical (CHA) research strategy applied to the analysis of cultural policy in the UK and Germany is the '*contrast of contexts*', where historical processes and institutional arrangements provide the background for the assessment of the individual case organizations, i.e. The Place and Dance Umbrella in London in the UK and the German contemporary dance sector comprising the Inter-University Centre for Dance (HZT) and the freelance scene in Berlin. Moreover through an examination of the institutional arrangements that have emerged over time the aim is to understand their role in the discourses used today by cultural policy makers to justify particular courses of action, including prioritization and funding. The overarching objective of the comparative study is therefore to understand why ostensibly similar cultural policy objectives have resulted in different outcomes in two example countries, namely the UK and Germany.

The scope of the research adopts a multi-level perspective, i.e. we conduct the analysis through an institutional, organizational and an individual or actor lens. At an organizational and actor level the positioning and characteristics of different types of organizations and actors in the cultural field of contemporary dance are examined in order to explore how cultural policy (which has been articulated and disseminated in the first instance at an institutional level) is reflected in terms of its implementation through use of different forms of, in Bourdieu's sense, capital and the effect it has on legitimacy and identity.

In the selection of the UK and German dance sector cases we create a holistic comparative basis for the analysis using key discursive themes on legitimacy and identity derived from the context-setting policy analysis as common features, but explicitly use the analysis to identify and explore the intrinsic characteristics of each case to discuss difference rather than similarity. The findings from this approach are deliberately intended to inform the subsequent discussions about the observed variations in cultural policy deployment and outcomes in the UK and Germany.

The organizational study is based on case study methods, but these have been modified to give in-depth illustrations of the discourses generated by policy makers and how they are mediated and operationalised within an organizational context, rather than create detailed contextual analyses. Thus, the function of the case study is primarily one of illumination.

Both the cross-sectional case examples and the longitudinal, historical study consist of a corpus of secondary data in the form of policy-related documents including commissioned reports and overviews of initiatives, press releases, academic research and news and journal articles.

1.5.1 Text Meaning and Interpretation

The case study method is combined with a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach to analyse both the archival and case study data. A methodological precedent exists in the example of O'Reilly and Reed's analysis of the:

“...representation of organizational agency in UK policy discourse in order to identify the legitimization of elite organizational centres and the structuring of organizational peripheries and their potential for resistance” (O'Reilly & Reed, 2011, p.1079).

In this study CDA is used to develop an analysis of the key aspects of the three UK discourses identified by the authors and to contextualise those discourses through a critical reading of relevant government policy documents. We conducted a similar analysis of the four discourses identified in our reading of German policy-related texts.

CDA has been selected for its focus on studying power relations and imbalances in those relations. The theoretical basis for relating power to the concepts of legitimacy, identity and artistic practice is established through Bourdieu's work on power and its foundation in the distribution and employment of different types of capital to reinforce or reproduce practices or tendencies within social groups and amongst individuals. Additionally, by drawing on literature based on institutional isomorphism and logics and their implications for different types of professional groups, the nature of insurgent

logics and the conflicts that arise as a result of their introduction into a field can be highlighted and related to changes in identity and practice at both an organizational as well as at an individual level.

Identity is an important element in the empirical research undertaken here, involving as it does, many actors performing various roles, some artistic and some not, in the setting of highly creative, artistic organizations such as dance schools, theatres and festivals. For this reason Weick's concept of sensemaking and the importance of language in the sensemaking process can be helpful in examining texts, verbal and written. As Gioia & Mehra (1996, p.1228), in their review of Weick's 1995 book, *Sensemaking in Organizations* observe:

“Weick's concern with the effect(s) of language on sense making seems to permeate just about everything he investigates in this book. Why this preoccupation with language? Put simply, because “sense is generated by words”. It is language that arrests, abstracts, and inscribes the otherwise evanescent behaviors and utterances that make up the stream of ongoing events that swirls about us. And it is these inscriptions—not the events themselves—that serve as the stuff of the sense-making process. For Weick, to understand how sense is made within organizations is to train attention on the language used there. And—as deconstructionists would no doubt hasten to add—to understand how Weick's text makes sense of organizational sense making is to train attention on the language he uses.”

The application of qualitative research methods such as sensemaking to dance has precedents in the work of researchers like Mary Beth Cancienne and Donald Blumenfeld-Jones (both 2008). Both draw analogies between the practice of choreography and the practice of research. Both recognise the role of sensemaking in creating dance, the exchange of ideas between choreographer and performer resulting in choreography that Cancienne describes as:

“... the process of giving out, which is the expression of how one has made sense of data” (Cancienne, 2008 p.401).

1.6 Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation comprises eight (8) chapters: 1: Introduction, 2: Review of Cultural Policy, Dance Studies and Institutional Theory Literature, 3: Theoretical Frameworks: Multi-level Analysis of Cultural Policy Determinants and Practice Discourse, 4: Methodology, 5: Dance in the Context of European Cultural History, 6: A Comparison of Dance Policy and Cultural Institutions in the UK and Germany, 7: Implications for Practice, 8: Discussion and Conclusions and 9: Bibliography. The Appendix contains additional material comprising charts, tables and reference texts.

Chapter One, the introductory chapter, describes the purpose behind the research presented in the dissertation, the research questions, the choice and rationale for the choice of research design and the structure adopted for analysis and presentation of the argument, findings and conclusions for the dissertation as a whole.

Chapter 2, the literature review, frames the overall research design in terms of a multi-layered analysis of the historical and institutional trajectories of cultural policy. Firstly, we consider the key determinants of cultural policy discourse, i.e. political, economic and social. Secondly, we review literature on dance politics and its positioning within the spectrum of cultural and political instrumentalism. Thirdly we critically assess the contextualisation of creativity and practice within the Creative Industries' debate and then examine the mechanisms used to justify, effect or rationalize organizational change arising from attempts to introduce new or alternative institutional logics. We also draw on literature from the areas of sensegiving and sensemaking, identity and Bourdieu's conceptualisation of power in fields of cultural production to show how the research may be operationalised. This chapter also clarifies gaps in the current bodies of literature, specifically in the implementation and governance of cultural policy and its historical contingency, the role of individual cultural, educational and social backgrounds in interpreting and mediating between insurgent and existing logics.

Chapter 3, the theory chapter, describes the main theoretical framework used in the analysis and how it is used to address the research questions.

Chapter 4 introduces the methods, research design and strategy approaches used in the analysis of the data and to conduct the comparative analysis. The research design comprises a cross-national study of cultural

policy and its implementation in the UK and Germany using a comparative-historical analysis to compare the evolution of cultural policy in both countries. The secondary research strategy uses a modified case study approach to contextualise and exemplify the outcomes of cultural policy implementation in both countries. We also describe the role of Discourse Analysis and specifically Critical Discourse Analysis in surfacing the intent of the key texts, describing the contexts in which the texts are applied or appropriated by protagonists in the dance field and examining the practice implications of the discourses as they attempt to shift the balance in power relations in the field.

Bourdieu's concept of a field as a site of struggle or resistance is used to examine the nature of the conflicting logics of practice that prevail in the cultural field of dance as a result of government policies that promote non-artistic goals. Weick's work on sensemaking provides both a mechanism for analysing the texts and for delineating the reflexive and instinctive nature of the researcher's construction of discourses from the analysis and interpretation of the texts.

In Chapter 5 we show how the development of dance and its representative institutions and the notions of legitimacy, identity and forms of dance practice that influence the dance field in both countries today have their foundations in a contingent view of history, culture and politics in the UK and Germany.

Chapter 6 presents the analysis of the key cultural and dance policy documents in order to identify a set of core logics and to examine how the policy discourses promulgated by the government have been constructed in order to gain legitimacy for the extrinsic logics.

Chapter 7 examines how the policy discourse is reflected at an organizational and individual level by studying the effects on legitimacy, identity and artistic practice in the form of modified case studies conducted using secondary data from UK dance organizations in the UK and Germany.

Chapter 8 presents a discussion of the findings and conclusions of the analysis and the implications for future cultural policy initiatives.

Finally we present a detailed bibliography of all source material referenced in the preparation of this dissertation.

1.7 Delimitations and Constraints of the Research

The scope of the research is intended as a non-exhaustive comparative study of the cultural politics relating to contemporary dance in two European countries, namely the UK and Germany. The cultural administration systems of both countries are examined in the course of the assessment of the comparative-historical analysis of policy and culture trajectories. The analysis is delimited geographically and by dance genre. The contemporary dance sector was selected as this is an under-represented area of the cultural sector in organizational and cultural policy studies.

The case examples are representative of the contemporary dance sectors in both Germany and the UK in terms of their profile, the nature of the activities they undertake and their relationship to national cultural-political bodies responsible for funding and support. However, the nature of the case analysis is exploratory and not intended to generate universally applicable findings. The original research strategy was to comprise of both interviews and secondary data collection and analysis. However, despite repeated efforts to gain access to the key UK case organizations over a two-year period the lack of response necessitated a change in approach using a comparative case study analysis based on secondary data collection.

CHAPTER TWO Review of Cultural Policy, Dance Studies and Institutional Theory Literature

2.1 Introduction

In the Western tradition the role of culture and the arts in the public sphere has attracted attention from politicians, religious representatives and philosophers since the classical Greek era. Negative, positive, and autonomous traditions have been identified for the role of arts and culture that chart the historical trajectory of the influence of the arts up to the present day (Belfiore & Bennett, 2007). The gradual shift in focus from the individual to the societal impact of the arts during the Enlightenment of the 18th and Romantic period of the early 19th centuries marked the start of more direct involvement of the state in culture and continues to this day (Bennett, 2006).

The influence of technology on the production and reproduction of art and the phenomenon of mass culture as a source of control and influence of populations has been the subject of scholarly reflection since the early 20th century (Benjamin, 1999; Adorno, 1991; Horkheimer and Adorno, 1947). The politicisation of culture manifested itself most directly in the totalitarian regimes of the USSR, Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy and its legacy was recognised in post-World War 2 Europe in a variety of cultural and political responses to the management and funding of artistic endeavours. More recently the effects of globalisation, increasing prosperity and leisure time have necessitated a more specific response to culture, particularly in the wake of its growing economic potential in the majority of Western economies (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; Garnham, 2005; McGuigan, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2005) in the form of the Cultural or Creative Industries' debate.

However, the divergent and diverse nature of the methods and disciplines used to study and inform cultural policy making has resulted in a significant body of research centring on the contested term 'culture' and a siloed approach to the analysis of its impact on the arts and culture (Gray, 2007, 2010; Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). For certain areas of the arts,

particularly those dependent on subsidies and with limited economic potential, such as contemporary dance, the study of the implications for the art form, its institutions and organizations and practitioners remains fragmented.

In the following sections we describe the main strands of cultural policy research, dance studies and institutional theory that have informed the research questions and elaborate on the areas that we use to bridge the gaps between the different areas of study.

2.2 Research Studies on Cultural Policy, Dance Discourses and Institutional Theory

The literature review frames the overall research design described in Chapter Four: Methodology in that it represents a stratification of the layers of subsequent analysis, beginning with cultural policy as the primary driver or source of logics for the discourses and discursive strategies that manifest themselves at an organizational and individual level in response to the ‘institutional work’ being undertaken by the policy texts. The three main bodies of literature that comprise the basis for both the theoretical framework described in Chapter Two, Multi-Level Analysis of Cultural Policy Determinants and Practice Discourse and the research design described in Chapter Four are supplemented with a discussion of the work on the contested nature of the value of culture and the focus on the economic impact of the arts in cultural policy making. We also demonstrate how dance studies have contributed to the debate, but also highlight the gaps between actor- and organizational-level discourses that limit the contribution that dance makes to broader debates on cultural policy. The discussion on creativity and the Creative Industries (CI), the role of digital technology and innovation in the CI debate and the issues surrounding the management of creativity and innovation in terms of process and capabilities demonstrates the limitations of adopting an overwhelmingly economic perspective towards a performing art such as contemporary dance, which tends to privilege intrinsic logics of cultural production. This analysis is complemented by a discussion of current avenues of research on institutional logics and attempts to create an overarching framework for the study of identity and practice in organizations.

The social constructivist focus on practice is augmented with a review of the literature on sensemaking and identity. The aim is to ascertain how external factors and influences such as insurgent logics are interpreted and rationalised by actors and organizations. We also use a discussion of Bourdieu's theory of practice to show that issues of conflict and resistance are under-represented in organizational studies. We discuss the mechanisms by which tensions arising from conflict are resolved or at least accommodated using Bourdieu's concepts on capital, habitus and practice and how these concepts structure the field (and the power relations that influence that structure) to which they are applied. In doing so we assess how the work of Bourdieu can inform the study of the role of the body and forms of movement in understanding the competing practices and power relations in the dance field.

The primary sources for relevant policy material include commissioned reports and overviews of initiatives, press releases, scholastic research and news and journal articles. The main time period covered by the research and published texts is the tenure of the previous Labour Government (1997 to 2010). Texts relevant to the analysis of responses to the policy texts are in the form of document downloads from organizational web sites, on-line magazines and journals, on-line interviews, news articles and quoted press comments and include material published up to and including 2013.

2.3 Cultural Policy Polemic

Since classical times the purpose and impact of the arts has been continually questioned and appropriated for various means. At the heart of many of these debates, particularly in the UK, lies a fundamental question about the place the arts have generally in society and the questions of what the arts achieve and not about what they are (Tusa, 2000). As Eleonora Belfiore and Oliver Bennett argue in their book 'The Social Impact of the Arts' (2008, p.193) that:

“...one of the most interesting aspects of the historical review presented [...] is that there has, in fact, never been a time in the West when discussions of the role of the arts in society and their effects on audiences have not been at the centre of heated debate.”

With the rapid advance in technological innovation from the 18th century onwards the arts, in common with other activities that had previously been artisan in nature, experienced a major change in the basis for their existence, i.e. from artistic to political practice:

“With the advent of the first truly revolutionary means of reproduction, photography, simultaneously with the rise of socialism, art sensed the approaching crisis which has become evident a century later. At the time, art reacted with the doctrine of *l’art pour l’art*, that is, with a theology of art. This gave rise to what might be called a negative theology in the form of the idea of ‘pure’ art, which not only denied any social function of art but also any categorizing by subject matter. An analysis of art in the age of mechanical reproduction must do justice to these relationships, for they lead us to an all-important insight: for the first time in world history, mechanical reproduction emancipates the work of art from its parasitical dependence on ritual. To an ever greater degree the work of art reproduced becomes the work of art designed for reproducibility. [] the instant the criterion of authenticity ceases to be applicable to artistic production, the total function of art is reversed. Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on another practice – politics” (Benjamin, 1999, p.218).

The political nature of culture and the role of cultural policy in delineating a role for the arts in society has, in recent decades, led to the appropriation of cultural policy and the arts in general for extrinsic or more instrumental purposes, aided by the multi-faceted, yet contested nature of the term ‘culture’. As Gray, (2010, p.218) contends, it encompasses aspects of sociology, cultural studies, political science, urban planning and economics as well as the arts, thus facilitating its appropriation as a vehicle for various political debates.

The Labour administration that was elected in 1997 rapidly embraced the idea that culture could serve a variety of purposes, when in 2001, it published the document *Culture and Creativity: The Next Ten Years*. In this document the Labour administration of Tony Blair described a blueprint for Labour’s cultural policy that articulated four main discourses pertaining to excellence, access, education and the creative economy as principal aims for the cultural sector (DCMS, 2001, pp.6-9) and synthesised these discourses into

an argument that is in essence an extension of ‘new public management’ (NPM), the response adopted by many neo-liberal economies such as New Zealand, Australia, The United States as well as the U.K. to budgetary pressures in the 1980s and 1990s ((Gore, 1993; Hood, 1995; Pollitt, 1993; Pusey, 1991 cited in Oakes et al., 1998); Townley, 2002; Dunleavy & Hood, 1994; Matarasso, 1997; Belfiore, 2002). The influence of the neo-liberal and globalisation discourses on actual policy making (McGuigan, 2005) and instrumentalisation of public policy to incorporate evidence-based measurement systems that are designed to evaluate the effectiveness of public expenditure and the impact of cultural economics on culture in general have also been widely discussed. The question of legitimising cultural policy in terms of logics imported from other policy areas has also been examined through the concept of ‘policy attachment’ (Gray, 2002 & 2007).

Other observers have examined the process of policy making and dissemination itself in order to identify the role that government documents, such as inquiry reports or policy documents, have in bestowing discursive legitimacy on proposed changes to policy in order to effect changes to previously accepted discourses (Brown et al, 2012, p.301; Motion & Leitch 2009, pp.1056-1057). Research has also been conducted on the vocabulary used in key policy texts to create and justify arguments for the adoption of private sector, profit-oriented practices and vocabularies in the public sector (O’Reilly and Reed, 2011, p.1080).

In contrast cultural policy implementation is an area relatively under-investigated, especially with regard to:

“...the more qualitative dimensions of organization and institutional contexts or the production of cultural commodities” (Pratt, 2005, p.35).

Pratt (2005) cites three discourses that frame much of the thinking surrounding cultural politics, i.e. economic, ideological/political and social. All three point to a role for the state, but fail to clarify how policy should be implemented, the nature of the expertise required to make prioritised decisions about investment and how where cultural policy should sit. In his view a framework that accommodates all elements of the debate is necessary to facilitate a more co-ordinated definition of culture and how it can be managed. Thus, Pratt proposes a concept of governance based on policy, the definition of

artefacts and their production and suggests that new institutional arrangements with greater public participation and more expertise about cultural production may be necessary to address the challenges of combining social and economic forms of management in the cultural sector. In our examination of the German Tanzplan initiative we suggest that the project-oriented model combining Match Funding and federated consensus building offers one example of how roles between the state, its cultural agents and implementing organizations can be defined to address these issues.

2.3.1 The Role of Cultural Economics in Policy Making

Cultural economics as a distinct research area emerged during the 1960s in the wake of Baumol & Bowen's 1966 seminal work on the demand for and supply of the arts and the measurement of its economic productivity in comparison to other sectors or industries⁵.

According to Towse (2006, p.567):

“Cultural economics is the application of economics to the arts, heritage and the cultural industries and one of the subjects that it deals with is the supply of works of art, music, literature, etc.”

Underpinning the debates on the economics of the arts is firstly, the rationale for public subsidies using arguments based on merit (intrinsic value), public and economic externalities and equity of access (extrinsic value) and secondly, the evaluation of the public expenditure (efficiency). Support for the arts as a result of the intrinsic value is no longer sufficient to justify public subsidy. This is illustrated in much of the academic literature on cultural policy written during the tenure of the previous Labour administration (1997-2010) that draws on the phenomena of cultural commercialisation or commodification and policy attachment in the context of the creative or cultural industries debate and accompanying impact studies (Gray, 2007, 2010; Belfiore, E. & Bennett, O. 2008; Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005; Pratt, 2005, McGuigan, 2005; Taylor, 2006).

⁵ Reference: Baumol, W. & Bowen, W. 1966. *The Performing Arts, the economic dilemma: a study of problems common to theatre, opera, music, and dance*. Twentieth Century Fund Report, Cambridge, MA. Cambridge University Press.

Other researchers have considered the obstacles to consistent investment and interventions in cultural policy making as a result of the diverse definitions and methodologies used in debates about culture. Galloway & Dunlop (2007, p.26) highlight how the confluence of debates about creative and cultural activities have resulted in an inability to properly distinguish between the contributions of different types of activity and how the convergence of "...culture with other creative activities fails to recognise the distinctive aspect of symbolic culture". The measurability of the social and economic impact of the arts is a particularly problematic area and has been challenged by several researchers (Bennett, 1995: pp. 24-25; Cowen, 2006, p.15; Galloway, 2009; Mulcahy, 1986, pp. 33-48).

Whilst the market failure argument for state support of the arts and culture is criticised by others as undemocratic or elitist, it does acknowledge the potential restrictions on choice and availability of culture if left entirely to the vagaries of markets (Dworkin, 1985, p.27 cited in Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). The attempt in the UK to find a compromise in terms of the 'social market' paradigm is described in terms of the positive tradition of support for the arts, but with a belief that market mechanisms are most suitable for:

"...ordering both the material processes of the political economy and the symbolic processes of culture" (Neelands et al., 2006, p.99).

and:

"The state's role is essentially threefold: (a) to create and maintain an appropriate legal framework for market exchange; (b) to limit and supplement the market where necessary; and (c) to ensure that the market is politically acceptable. A social-market economy is, above all, one which is embedded in social arrangements regarded as "fair" (Skidelsky, 1989, p.19 [cited in Neelands et al., 2006]).

This viewpoint assumes centralist control of the 'market' for cultural goods and services and reflects the governance mechanisms in place in economies like the UK and US. The devolved, highly federated circumstances of the German cultural landscape means that central government has a much more limited influence on the federal 'cultural' market. Importantly the German Constitution guarantees not only the autonomy of the arts in Article

5(3), but also provides the basis for self-governance of public cultural institutions and organizations protecting them from state directives and regulation of content. This means that German cultural policy is essentially supply-oriented with particular attention focused on the public provision of culture regardless of the relative market demand. However, the increasing relevance of the *Kulturwirtschaft* (English: commercial cultural economy) has meant that some policy measures have been targeted specifically at encouraging commercial activity in the cultural sector through, e.g. tax incentives or support for a music export agency⁶.

The commodification debate has altered perceptions of value, i.e. the notion of value-in-use is replaced with that of value-in-exchange. The issue of what constitutes value for money and how it can be evaluated in the arts world and used to manage the ‘supply-side of the arts’ has been the subject of debate for some time (Matarasso, 1997, 2009; Hewitt, 2004) and as a result affected the claims on legitimacy that the arts and culture can make:

“In the context of the commodification argument, “value” is associated with Marxian notions of value-form [...] and, in particular, the shift from intrinsic notions of use to extrinsic notions of exchange. In effect, goods and services are re-defined in terms of how they are to be understood, their social role is re-designed, and the management of them requires change for the most efficient and effective realisation of their exchange status” (Gray, 2007, p.208).

More recently, as pressure on government funding has reinforced the polemic surrounding the extrinsic and intrinsic value of the arts, measurability has become more urgent (Knell & Taylor, 2011). Methodological concerns about the evidencing of value (or performance measurement) have been subject to scrutiny, amidst concerns that such methodologies can unduly influence policy agendas and funding debates for the arts (Merli, 2002; Belfiore, 2006). Moreover, where fundamental misunderstandings exist with regard to the interpretation of performance indicators their value is seriously undermined when assessing the efficacy of an arts initiative (Selwood, 2006). Although some scholars including Nielsen and Waade (cited in Waade, 1997) have considered the use of alternative quality criteria that emphasise the experience

⁶ Source: <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/germany.php?aid=81>. [Accessed 17 September 2013].

process rather than the ‘output’ of a cultural activity there still remains the question of how to measure such an experience ‘process’. Nevertheless, the importance of performance management continues to play an important role in securing institutional legitimacy for the organizations obliged to undergo the process, appearing as it does to formalise accountability and make validation appear independent and value-free (Power, 1994, [cited in Chong, 2010, pp. 53-56]).

2.3.2 The Politics of Dance

Culture and its vulnerability to the vagaries of social, political and technological change permeate much of the writing on the subject since the early 20th century. As Giurchescu and Torp (1991, p.1) argue, this is no different for dance research, in that:

“The development of dance research is based on various approaches, each of which can be explained by historical-political, socio-cultural, and epistemological factors. In the case of Europe, the status and scholarly position of dance research in a given country must be seen in relation to: 1) the historical and political context in which it was developed and is currently employed; 2) the place of dance and its viability in the given culture (e.g. living tradition and/or revival); 3) the epistemological roots of ethnochoreology and its interdependence with related sciences in a given period; 4) the institutional framework in which dance research is carried out and the educational background of the scholars involved.

The development of European dance research is closely related to the discipline of folklore which has its historical roots in the cultural politics of 18th and 19th century Europe.”

For dance the advances made in critical theory, i.e. a move away from merely descriptive analyses based largely on historical and aesthetic considerations towards an assessment of dance as both an art form and a social practice, enabled researchers to expand their approaches to examine the role of the body and movement in signifying meaning. Susan Reed exemplifies this expansion of dance research into dance studies with the observation that:

“This new dance scholarship has made significant contributions to our understandings of culture, movement and the body; the expression and construction of identities; the politics of culture; reception and spectatorship; aesthetics; and ritual practice” (Reed 1998, p.504).

Today the spectrum of dance politics research is broad and:

“...range[s] from the relationships of the dancers with political and cultural institutions, to the communication, performance, and the reception of a dance work, to the ways in which dance connects with the individual, the collective, society, the state, and power” (Franco & Nordera, 2007, p.4).

The constructive possibilities of the body in motion, shifting attention to the observer’s or researcher’s own subjectivity and reflexive bias, as well as to the process of interpretation by highlighting the historical context of dance broadens the scope of dance politics and emphasises its potential to act as a:

“...rhetorical, persuasive, and deconstructive force in the social field of the audience, which is a variant of the public sphere” (Franko, 2007, p.15).

Several writers have emphasised the characterisation of the body in such discourses (Foster, 1995 & 2007; Thomas, 2003; Novack, 1995; Turner, 1995). Novack (1995, p.179) critiques the tendency of some anthropological researchers to consider the body only as an object, “manipulated by external forces in the service of something: religion (body as icon), the state (the discipline of the body), gender (the feminine body)” and argues that though crucial as a primary analytical focus in dance studies, the body should not displace ideas about sound, movement or social ethics (Reed, 1998, p.521). For Foster and Thomas the body is less tangible, conceptualised as an “unfinished entity” (Thomas, 2003, p.117) or something that can be “written upon, but also writes” (Foster, 1995, p.15).

The assumption of agency implied by this view and the constructed nature of the body as a source of symbolic value is closely associated with Bourdieu’s concept of habitus and the notion that the body is not only a physical reality, but also the embodiment of class, race and gender distinctions that are produced and reproduced through various dance styles and techniques (Thomas, 2003, pp.117-118). The role of the body as a carrier of symbolic

value also means that it constitutes a form of capital in Bourdieuan terms that enables it (the body) to represent power and status through forms of presentation (dress and style) and also movement. This in turn suggests an alternative social practice perspective from which to consider how dance techniques are constructed, transmitted and embodied by teachers, choreographers and dancers and the subsequent, more explicit consequences for the teaching and practice of modern dance (Thomas, 2003, p.56 & p.118). We discuss this in more detail in Chapter Seven, where we consider the implications of cultural policy on four case examples selected from the UK and German contemporary dance sectors. The role of the disabled body is also examined as a potential source of aestheticism in performances, rather than simply as a means to satisfy social concerns about inclusion and access.

More recently, however, the broadening of the cultural studies' agenda and the subsequent loss of absolutist insights derived from traditional approaches to dance scholarship has been replaced, according to Franco & Nordera (2007, p.2), with the idea that:

“...every cultural object had to be studied as a sign to be decoded in relation to a broader spectrum of codes and conventions...”. The inherent danger in this perspective for dance is when re-interpreted as a social, that is not only as a bodily practice, dance finds itself treated often merely as a means to an end.”

As Reed (1998, p.505) points out such an open-ended standpoint has complicated previous work on, e.g. the politics of dance in such areas of ethnicity, national identity, gender and class with predominantly historical and ethnographic researchers attempting to look more explicitly at the practice of power, protest, resistance and complicity through dance. Franco and Nordera are even more explicit in their editorial chapter to ‘Dance Discourses: Keywords in dance research’, arguing that the lack of rigour has hampered attempts to establish a more comprehensive framework for the study of dance and its discourses. Their aim is to establish dance scholarship:

“...not only as the history of bodily practices and ways of dancing, but also as the history of the way in which dancing itself has been questioned in the production of knowledge and has become both a “subject” and a “tool” of reflection” (Franco & Nordera, 2007, p.8).

In the mid-20th century dance was used as an overt propaganda tool to promote state politics and notions of identity at a nation-state level and this features in much work focussed on exploring the role of culture in the Communist East and Capitalist West. In some examples cultural policy has even had a direct influence on the content of some works and their form (Kolb, 2011, p.30). In several Communist States the role of culture and the arts was to:

“reinforce the concept of permanence, to symbolise the unitary character of the nation and to demonstrate its artistic qualities”
(Giurchescu, 2001, p.116).

At an individual level the debate about the impact of dance on the social or political world has often been treated with scepticism by choreographers themselves. Nevertheless the influence of the state or government politics and discourse on dance has become more noticeable in the wake of the expansion of the neo-liberal discourse to encompass most aspects of social and economic policy making⁷. In current dance research it represents one of the main research strands, alongside those examining the body and identity. Indeed, the move towards more neo-liberal policies in public sector management, combined with the New Labour concept of ‘social markets’ has led to a reappraisal of dance’s role as a physical activity and performing art. Its appropriation for economic and social welfare purpose has directed attention towards its contribution to achieving specific policy objectives such as accessibility and healthy living⁸.

This overtly instrumental emphasis on the socio-political uses of dance and the question of its funding is highlighted by Alexandra Kolb in the introductory chapter of her volume *Dance and Politics* (2011) when she points out that:

“...politics play a crucial role in dance administration, in particular when one considers the politically related factors which often

⁷ In an interview with Chris Smith, former Culture Secretary and Sue Hoyle, former Executive Director of The Place given on 10 October 2003 to Juice, The Place’s on-line magazine, the ambiguity of the term ‘politics’ was highlighted variously as a source of social awareness and responsibility as well as a source for the common good. Source: Juice, 2003, Issue 64: 2-4. Available at (www.theplace.org.uk) .

⁸ Source: UK House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee’s 2004 report: Arts Development: Dance (HC 587-I, p.13, §20).

underpin cultural policy and funding decisions. These include diversity, the initiation of positive social change, audience sizes and accessibility” (Kolb, 2011, p.30).

Anna Pakes examines the impact of political, institutional and economic factors at a micro-level in the analysis of a single work by the French choreographer, Daniel Larrieu in the context of expectations set by the emergence of a so-called French contemporary dance form (*la nouvelle danse française*) throughout the 1980s. She asks if the environment that specific policy and funding measures creates is actually conducive to furthering the ubiquitous European aims of public accessibility and engagement with the arts and how:

“...the political, economic and institutional imperatives of the danceworld inflect particular artistic projects? And how, in turn, is audience experience of dance works prestructured and contexted by this institutional environment?” (Pakes, 2004, p.21).

At a meso and macro level political, institutional and socio-economic factors have also played a distinct role in attempting to influence the demand for and supply of dance. Diversity is a key political aim in cultural policy and includes the various genres of dance on offer to the public, but also the profile of dance students attending dance schools. For example Neelands et al. (2006) assess the outcomes of New Labour’s interventions in the performing arts training market through affirmative action and a ‘limited redistribution of the capital and resource available’ in order to encourage greater professional participation by impoverished socio-economic groups, the disabled and British Minority Ethnic (BME) groups. Accessibility comprises access to traditional and alternative dance spaces. The former encompasses pricing policies and the facilities necessary for dance professionals to train and perform whilst the latter considers how to bring dance activity into public environments with the aim of encouraging active as well as passive participation by members of the public.

It is the inter-disciplinary nature of dance, incorporating music, movement, technology and even art forms such as sculpture that is frequently invoked by cultural politicians to create distinct discourses and promote particular courses of actions. These are intended to address issues such as existing models of funding (e.g. based on touring), performance measurement

(audience numbers), sustainability and to encourage new practices amongst practitioners and legitimise other forms of contribution such as education, TV, digital dance and site-specific work (Siddall, 2001, p.30). Whilst these topics are relatively well articulated at an institutional level, little insight is provided by dance researchers at the organizational or actor level into the impact on identity and practice amongst dance professionals of such examples of cultural administration (Grau, 2007, p.203). Notably Grau criticises the divergence of dance studies, with its intellectual agenda, from the actual experiences of dancers and choreographers themselves and calls for empirical research into how their personal conceptualisation of gender, race, identity or other is embodied in artistic practices (Grau, 2007, p.203).

2.4 Cultural and Creative Industries

In 2001 the UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) published a seminal document on culture and creativity that outlined the Labour Government's objectives in this sector for the following decade. The document gave a comprehensive account of objectives covering creative learning, education and training, artistic and creative excellence and access. References to targets, performance indicators and value for money were made only for excellence initiatives and in listing the top 10 proposals five emphasised commercial activity. Since 2001 the discourse surrounding the economic potential of culture has assumed an increasingly dominant role in the UK's approach to cultural policy, which as Galloway and Dunlop point out has resulted in an obscuring of distinctive aspects of culture (2007, p.19).

In contrast the approach and terminology adopted in Germany to describe the economic opportunities for culture, i.e. Cultural and Creative Industries, subordinates the economic arguments in support of the creative industries to the intrinsic value associated with culture, in particular publicly funded institutions:

“Dabei geht es nicht um die Kommerzialisierung allen kulturellen Schaffens, sondern – als bislang vernachlässigte Aufgabe – um eine stärkere Unterstützung all jener, die mit künstlerischen Erzeugnissen Geld verdienen wollen bzw. müssen. Der Eigenwert von Kultur wird hierdurch nicht in Frage gestellt: Er ist unabhängig von den

Möglichkeiten der wirtschaftlichen Verwertung. Insgesamt bildet also die Behandlung wirtschaftlicher Fragestellungen der Kulturproduktion eine wichtige Ergänzung zu den bisherigen Kernaufgaben der Kulturpolitik im Bereich der öffentlich geförderten Kultur und der kulturellen Bildung” (Source: KuK status report, August 2012, p.2⁹).

Translation: “This is not about the commercialisation of all cultural productive activity, rather – until now a neglected task – it is about stronger support for all those who want or need to earn a living from artistic production. The intrinsic value of culture is not questioned as a result: it is independent of the economic potential of its use. The management of economic issues concerning cultural production is an important extension to the core tasks of cultural politics in the areas of publicly subsidised culture and cultural education.”

The issue of nomenclature concerning the creative versus cultural industries debate has already been raised in section 2.3.1 on cultural economics and the implications for cultural policy making. For the purposes of the literature review concerning the Creative Industries (CI) we draw on the 1998 DCMS definition of the Creative Industries comprising advertising, architecture, arts and antiques, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, performing arts, publishing, software and computer services & TV and radio. In comparison the German scope of the cultural and creative industries comprises 11 sub-sectors, i.e. arts and antiques and crafts are not included.

The scope of the literature review draws on the findings of Sapsted et al. (2008) and indicates that management research priorities to be currently centred on the impact of digital tools on organizational operations, changes to business models, creative management practices and the effect of digital technologies on the creative process, on the skills, experiences and organizational capabilities as well as on the growth potential of small businesses.

⁹ Source: www.kultur-kreativ-wirtschaft.de . Downloaded July 10 2013. This text also lists on p.1 the number of sectors comprising the German Cultural and Creative Industries sub-sectors, i.e. 11.

2.4.1 Theorizing Creativity

In the introduction to their paper on multi-level theorizing of creativity in organizations Drazin et al. (1999, p.286) outline the development of research on creativity, tracing a path that has its origins in studies of individuals and the nature of creativity in organizations. Their research proposes a model that uses the concept of sensemaking to chart the course of creativity in organizations as agents and groups engage at multiple levels in creative activities.

Existing literature has tended to focus on the outputs of creative processes (Jeffcutt & Pratt, 2002). Creativity is also seen as an ‘economy of identity’ (Prichard, 2002) and a control mechanism as well as a resource for establishing legitimization criteria. Moreover, much of the discussion about creativity in relation to cultural policy is juxtaposed with the ‘creative industries’ discourse. This association tends to frame creativity within an economic rationale and assumes that those operating within these areas form a common group able to generate both artistic and economic value from its activities. This ‘logic’, however, is one that has been imposed by government bodies and their representatives and inevitably raises questions about the relative importance of artistic merit and economic returns resulting from creative activities. As Townley et al. (2009, p.940) observe:

“Concerns are that marketization and the imperatives of the commodity form fundamentally change cultural products, cultural producers and cultural labour, constituting yet further accretion of business and management into cultural life. Culture produces value. Economic production is also the production of value. As the discourse and practices of business and markets take hold, concerns are that the non-monetary value of ‘culture’ and ‘art’ is lost.”

In Chapter 6 we relate these concerns to our assessment of dance-related policy and the logics that emerge from the texts to illustrate the issues and limitations of applying the economic aspects of the CI discourse to all areas of the arts.

2.4.2 Digital Tools: Innovating Audience Engagement and Creative Content

The increased politicisation of culture owes much to a period of rapid advancement in technology during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, including the development of media forms such as radio, television and most recently the Internet. The role of technology is a key one in the cultural arena, but tends to be underplayed by researchers of cultural policy who tend to frame shifts in cultural policy more in terms of globalisation and the concomitant effect on the commodification of processes and products. However, specific issues such as copyright, and the exchange value of artistic and cultural intellectual property have become the focus of attention by cultural economists in the light of the Creative Industries debate and its frequent association with the rapid development of digital technology and the shift from industrial to knowledge-based economies.

Technology research directly within the CI research community is also frequently focussed on describing the impact on the value chain and division of labour in the creative industries. The role of technology as a form of process enhancement as well as the impact on content are reviewed (Thomke, 2001; Stones and Cassidy, 2007; Jones, 2006; Eisner et al., 2006), as is the question of innovators influencing the architecture of their respective industries to stimulate further innovation rather than resort to protective mechanisms based on IP rights (Jacobides et al., 2006).

Steve Dixon examines the origins of 'digital performance', interpreted as the use of digital technologies within the arena of live performance in his 2007 book, *Digital Performance: A History of New Media in Theater, Dance, Performance Art, and Installation*. The analysis highlights key themes associated with the development of digital technologies and their potential to dis-intermediate the creator from the audience, namely the gradual synthesis of the media themselves and the changes in design and use of technologies, the issue of live versus virtual performance and the implications for digital performance of the post-modern discourse.

For Dixon futuristic principles based principally on the notions of virtual actors and the centrality of technology have an important place in the

development of [digital] arts, including dance. As he observes in the introduction to *Digital Performance* (Ch.1, p.3):

“The interactive capabilities opened up by computer networks allow for shared creativity, from textual or telematic real-time improvisations to globally constituted group projects, with distance no barrier to collaboration. New technologies thus call received ideas about the nature of theater and performance into question. The computer has become a significant tool and agent of performative action and creation, which has led to a distinct blurring of what we formerly termed, for example, communication, scriptwriting, acting, visual art, science, design, theater, video, and performance art.”

The role of technology in changing notions of aesthetics, authorship of the creative product and the limitations of some forms of technology to adequately transmit a dance event are cited as issues facing dance in the digital fields and amongst artists take precedence over the economic uses of technology. Indeed the fundamental importance of the symbolic nature of the meaning and value of cultural products and the concomitant threat to the authenticity of the performance or ‘cultural product’ has been specifically addressed by researchers in the field of dance studies (Birringer, 1999; Broadhurst, 1999).

A more instrumental perspective of the future implications of digital technology for dance is given in Jeannette Siddall’s assessment of the future trends that need to be accommodated or embraced by the dance sector if it is to avoid “...proposing solutions for yesterday’s problems” (2001, p.35). Technological advances, less free time and more digital and interactive media content are trends that the author suggests present dance with significant challenges.

Furthermore, the ability of technology to democratise taste and quality judgments is highlighted as another challenge for dance if it is to exploit more fully digital opportunities for creative and commercial advantage (Burns & Harrison, 2009, p.180). The difficulties that this can bring when legal measures designed to protect the integrity and ownership of creative works such as copyright are infringed was exemplified most clearly when the eminent Belgian choreographer, Anne Teresa De Keersmaecker accused the pop singer

Beyoncé of plagiarism by not acknowledging the inspiration for her pop video until the dispute was publicised in the media¹⁰. More importantly this raises the matter of the ceding of control of creative material from the creator to the provider or publisher of the content. The issues concerning copyright protection for dance are explored in more detail in section 2.4.5.

2.4.3 Innovation, Models and Markets

Sapsted et al. (2008, p.10) pose some questions in their summary of research priorities in the area of creative markets and business model impacts:

- How should user ‘experience’ be designed, delivered and sold?
- How should firms respond or relate to growing user communities that modify and adapt their products and services?
- How should policy-makers respond or relate to growing user communities that modify and adapt products and services?

Research in this area has tended to focus on new organizational forms, different forms of experimentation and lateral thinking to stimulate innovation in established organizations. Experiential innovation and enhanced co-operation with consumers has been subject to scrutiny (Vargo & Lusch, 2004; Boorsma, 2006). In the dance field Facebook and YouTube are used to market and communicate with audiences although resistance to using clips and videos of dance works is evident (Burns & Harrison, 2009, p.184).

Little evidence of policy involvement in these debates is apparent in relation to dance outside an encouragement to exploit technology even further as both a creative tool and one that improves efficiency by reducing costs. Issues of artistic autonomy and creative practice have received some attention in the form of specially commissioned reports (Gibson & Porter, 2008; Knell, 2007), but there is a paucity of material that addresses these issues outside the IP and copyright body of literature that we cover in the following section.

¹⁰ Source: Jennings, L. 2011. Available at <http://www.theguardian.com/stage/theatreblog/2011/oct/11/beyonce-de-keersmaecker-dance-move>

2.4.4 The Creative Process and Organization

Townley et al. (2009, p.942) illustrate the broad spectrum of research covering management and organizational issues in the CI. Nevertheless, although much research has been conducted on organizational and environmental matters (Woodman et al., 1993, and Amabile et al., 1996), less emphasis has been placed on the actual management of creative processes. The multi-faceted meaning of creativity has also been shown to result in practices that can result in conflict in organizations (Banks et al., 2002) as well as in innovation from creative friction between managerial or commercial and artistic/creative partners (Yamada and Yamashita, 2006).

Sutton (2001) argues that creativity needs to be managed unconventionally to motivate staff and that experimentation is worthy of recognition as well as success. Grabher (2002) describes how stagnation amongst project members can be mitigated by adjusting team roles and composition between projects in order to spur improvisation and unpredictability.

Townley et al. (2009, p.954) argue that “...productive actions include organizing, creating, innovating, reproducing and extracting value or reward” cannot be allocated cleanly amongst organizational members, necessitating an alternative framework for understanding the translation of inputs into outputs within a creative or artistic organization. For Sapsted et al. a company’s creative identity, which emerges from the integration of organization, technology and talent are differentiating factors (2008, p.17).

Implicit in this analysis is the assumption that artistic professionals and organizations engage in creative activity to achieve both economic and aesthetic goals. Economic success bestows external legitimacy whilst creative success signals internal approval, echoing Sutton’s (2001) call for forms of motivation that encourage both. What the factors are that generate particular behaviours amongst individuals or responses to different forms of motivation is less clear and raises similar questions to those posed by Grau (2007) on identity and the aspects of individual background and experience that influence attitudes towards funding issues and the recognition of different dance genres

in terms of the ability of dance artists to cross the boundaries and perform each other's repertoire.

2.4.5 'Creative' Capabilities and Resources – Entrepreneurialism, Intellectual Property Rights and Copyright Management

The juxtaposition of the words 'creative' and 'industry' implies the existence of a homogenous group of organizations and individuals with similar economic objectives as they pursue their 'art'. As Townley et al. (2009, p.940) explain:

“The term 'creative industries' stimulates disquiet because it evokes the contentious issue of culture's relationship to value, and more especially, the market, underscoring debates concerning culture as a public good, the transcendent role of art and its civilizing affect and effect (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005; Jeffcutt et al.,2000).”

The question of creative talent and how to support it in the CI context is the subject of a 2008 DCMS report: *Creative Britain–New Talents for the new Economy*. It presents a checklist to stimulate entrepreneurial thinking amongst creative professionals, but focuses mainly on the music industry. At an organizational level Christopherson & Jaarsveld argue that some form of political mediation may be necessary to ensure sufficient support for workforces based in the creative sector where professional standards and representational bodies are often missing and where the commercial success of the creative product or service is strongly influenced by the consumer's interpretation of what is innovative or creative (2005, pp.90-91). In their contribution Banks & Hesmondhalgh (2009, p.428) point out how weaknesses inherent in the cultural labour markets in the UK are underplayed in favour of narrow arguments based on skills and training:

“...in the name of national economic competitiveness and developing the 'national brand' of the UK.”

This is exemplified by Burns (2007) in her assessment of 'entrepreneurship' in relation to dance professionals where characteristics that

encompass both artistic and business-oriented skills are emphasised as necessary in order to make a career in the dance sector.

With respect to the status of contemporary dance, Burns & Harrison (2009) critique the dance profession's attitude towards entrepreneurialism and its tendency to privilege choreographers and their forms of qualification and professionalism in the funding stakes. The emphasis in their report is on commercial approaches toward entrepreneurialism, rather than on creative practice and they cite examples that illustrate alternative fund-raising models and dance company structures and the need for better understanding of issues concerning intellectual property (IP) and copyright as new forms of interdisciplinary, technological forms of collaboration emerge.

Although well understood and extensively covered in research into the music and visual arts (Davies & Withers, 2006; Bilton, 2007; Hargreaves, 2011) the importance of intellectual property rights (IPR) and copyright implications for the dance sector in the context of increasing digitalisation of the creative sector is less clear.

The widespread use of digital technology and media such as the World Wide Web have caused a shift from what was essentially a closed to a more open content exchange system and which undermines a supplier's, i.e. (creator/originator, distributor) ability to maintain a scarcity in supply and so encourage a demand for the works. This has led to the adoption of increasingly ubiquitous technological means to manage the exchange and manipulation of creative works. These means include digital rights management (DRM), which has emerged as a particularly powerful form of protection and means of enforcement of ownership and distribution rights.

Furthermore the complexity of the rights accorded in updates to international IP regulations to various parties involved in the creation, distribution and performance of such assets makes it necessary to examine the contribution that mechanisms such as copyright make to protecting artistic, intellectual and creative assets (Towse, 2006, p.569). Observers have traditionally justified IPR mechanisms such as copyright using a mixture of arguments based on the 'public' and 'private'¹¹ nature of goods and the need to

¹¹ In this context 'public' refers to goods whose use cannot be restricted to authorised (usually paying) users. 'Private' goods are those whose use can be restricted to authorised users. If the goods are termed 'rival' their use or consumption means that there is less for other users or consumers. If the goods are 'non-rival' the opposite is true.

incentivise the innovation in both an artistic and entrepreneurial context (Andersen, 2003).

For dance the issue of IP protection is especially complex. In the UK copyright law stipulates that dance must be fixed in “writing or otherwise” (Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988)¹², i.e. by recording, by video or notation to have copyright protection. “Both expressions are fluid to enable the courts, in their interpretation, to accommodate future technological developments for the recording of dance” (Yeoh, 2007).

In the U.S. for copyright protection to apply, choreographic works [need] to be:

“fixed in any tangible medium of expression, now known or later developed, from which they can be perceived, reproduced, or otherwise communicated, either directly or with the aid of a machine or device” (US Copyright Act, 1976).

Documenting the choreographic process sufficiently to capture both intent and meaning as well as describing the actual movement to be performed represents an additional complexity not faced by other art forms. The experimental, interactive form of dance development requires both choreographer and dancers to contribute (Forcucci, 2006), but also needs a form of notation and a notator to record the movements. Here too, the question of authenticity is addressed as it:

“...raises the question of just how accurately a notated score can represent the intended work of the choreographer. Does it, rather, represent the notator’s understanding of what the choreographer intends? And would several notators produce the same score of the same dance? Does a dance score represent the original creation less well than a music score or a playscript because it has been produced by someone other than the original creator?” (van Zile, 1985, p. 41).

The use of video tape and film to record dance works has been explored, but as Tembeck (1982, p.77) points out, video and film as visual media tend to be used to record a piece from the audience’s perspective only.

¹² Source: Book Review in *Organization Studies* 34(1) 133–136. Prior to the Act only notation counted as a method of fixing dance, video did not.

The accuracy of the movements is affected by the static nature of the recorder and constrains the ability of the dancer learning the piece to faithfully reconstruct it. Importantly video or film recordings are faithful records of only one particular performance and cannot be regarded as the 'lasting artifact' (van Zile, 1985, p.42).

Whatley & Varney observe that the insular nature of dance creation dissuades artists from making fuller use of digital technology (2009) and suggest that digital archiving may provide a means to combine the two. Their ongoing work with the choreographer Siobhan Davies in the UK on the RePlay project examines the use of digital tools to record work and explore working practices in the company.

Traditional ways of protecting copyright, such as 'choreographic credit' have also been examined (Forcucci, 2005-6, p.965), but are regarded as inadequate because they rely on enforcing trust-based community norms to ensure compliance (Lakes, 2005, p.1833). As an alternative means to safeguard the legacy of a choreographer, both artistically and financially, digital archives present a means to address gaps in the IP regime. Merce Cunningham's Living Legacy Plan, which includes the creation of 'dance capsules' is one such example (Cunningham Dance Foundation, 2009, p.2). At a national level Tanzplan Deutschland's 'Kulturerbe' (cultural heritage) initiative supported the founding of a federation of German dance archives; the development of a web site to help academics and professionals navigate dance archives in a centralised location and the hosting of a symposium on dance copyright in digital space (Tanzplan Deutschland Jahresheft 2009. Tanz und Archive: Perspektiven fuer ein kulturelles Erbe. [6]).

Within the creative industries context copyright and IPR are addressed from an overwhelmingly economic perspective. Policy in this area emphasises firstly the economic incentive to innovate; secondly, the economic value of the public domain; thirdly, the civic value of access and inclusion and fourthly, preservation and heritage (Davies & Withers, 2006). It also implies a common acceptance of these priorities by the parties involved in the creation, distribution or consumption of creative assets or artefacts. The increasingly digitally mediated environments in which creative professionals work is blurring boundaries between creators and performers of artistic work and those

who distribute it. Whilst the literature exemplifies issues at an industry or field level, individual experiences and practices and especially those that govern power relations between protagonists in the cultural field are less well understood. In response to this we apply Bourdieu's conceptualisation of power relations and capital in Chapters Six and Seven to examine how organizations and actors exploit political discourse to gain legitimacy and the implications that these strategies have on identity and artistic practice.

2.5 Institutional logics

Institutional logics theory originated in the work conducted by Meyer and Rowan (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983). The former's work emphasised the symbolic nature of organizational life and argued that the basis for public legitimacy amongst organizations is largely based on institutional rituals and practices that make the organization appear to conform to the expectations of other constituent members in the organizational field.

The latter's work focused on the material aspects, i.e. macro structures and practices of organizations rather than the individual. In this case purely normative (behavioural obligations requiring conformity to a set of values such as professional standards) or regulative measures (coercive obligations comprising rules that entail normative and legal sanctions if violated) were regarded as insufficient to explain the variety and complexity of organizations. This also applied to mimetic behaviour whereby an organization imitated that of others in its field as a response to uncertainty.

Although the logic of economic rationality, i.e. one that incorporates the market, corporate, state, and professional logics into one overarching logic underpins both perspectives, logics exemplifying other notions of value, e.g. the family, religion and community were under-represented, being seen as insufficiently modern or rational (Thornton et al., 2012, Ch. 2. p.23). Nevertheless, the quest for legitimacy as the fundamental institutional question led Mizruchi and Fein to extrapolate DiMaggio and Powell's (1983, p.150) exegesis on why organizations appear so similar in modern industrialized societies. Their findings suggest that:

“...consistent with Meyer and Rowan, [that] this similarity has arisen not because of competition or an objective requirement of efficiency,

but rather as a result of organizations' quests to attain legitimacy within their larger environments" (Mizruchi & Fein, 1999, p.656).

Mizruchi & Fein (1999, pp.661-665) argue that whereas mimetic isomorphism emphasises rationality and arguments based on quantitative reasoning and a quest for economic performance, coercive and normative isomorphism favour an assessment of the role of power and resistance in shaping and influencing institutional behaviours once the economic innovation has become taken-for-granted. As this rationalization process becomes embedded and dominant organizational forms come to increasingly resemble each other, leading to a structuration of the field in which the organization operates that comes to characterise the participants, their modes of interaction and awareness of each other and the forms of domination and coalition that exist.

However, several criticisms were levelled at DiMaggio and Powell's structuration proposition, principally because the theory failed to recognise the organization itself as a key source of rationalization alongside the state, market and professions (Thornton et al., 2012). Although DiMaggio and Powell (1983) later modified their proposition to acknowledge the influence of culture and other factors that shape cognitive views or perceptions of the world they did not elaborate on the role of agents or interests in the structuration process. Moreover, whilst an attempt was made to explain agent behaviours in the form of scripts, schemas and habits the possibility that agents might violate cultural meanings and logics, i.e. act in an apparently irrational manner was not satisfactorily explained at the organizational level.

It was Friedland and Alford (1991) who proposed that institutions operate at different levels, i.e. at the organizational, individual and societal levels and that rationality and therefore the dominant logic that is applied depends on an organizations and individual's position in the institutional order or cultural sub-system (Thornton et al., 2012, Ch. 2). Thornton et al. (2012, Ch. 3, p.56) summarise the extant literature to illustrate the multiplicity of institutional orders (key societal institutions) and categories (i.e. cultural symbols and material practices that inform individual and organizational behaviours, preferences and practices) in Table 2.1:

Categories	Family	Religion	State	Market	Profession	Corporation
Root Metaphor	Family as Firm	Temple as Bank	Redistribution mechanism	Transaction	Relational network	Hierarchy
Sources of Legitimacy	Unconditional loyalty	Sacredness in society	Democratic participation	Share price	Personal expertise	Market position of firm
Sources of Authority	Patriarchal domination	Priesthood charisma	Bureaucratic domination	Shareholder activism	Professional association	Top management
Sources of Identity	Family reputation	Association with deities	Social & economic class	Faceless	Association with quality of craft. Personal reputation	Bureaucratic roles
Basis of Norms	Household membership	Congregational membership	Citizenship membership	Self-interest	Associational membership	Firm employment
Basis of Attention	Status in household	Relation to supernatural	Status of interest group	Status in market	Status in profession	Status in hierarchy
Basis of Strategy	Increase in family honour	Increase religious symbolism of natural events	Increase community good	Increase profit	Increase personal reputation	Increase size of firm
Informal Control Mechanisms	Family politics	Worship of calling	Backroom politics	Industry analysts	Celebrity professionals	Organization structure
Economic System	Family capitalism	Occidental capitalism	Welfare capitalism	Market capitalism	Personal capitalism	Managerial capitalism

Table 2.1: Interinstitutional System Ideal Types: Source: Thornton et al., 2012, p.56.

In conducting the discourse analysis to understand the motivations that underpin the texts, we draw on certain categories, for example, legitimacy, authority, identity and the bases for attention and strategy as a means of cross-referencing our assumptions and interpretations of the meaning of the texts.

The necessity for such frameworks to deal with the complexity and change that results from the multiplicity of rationales that prevail in organizations was summed up by Greenwood et al. in their attempt to describe institutional logics and their importance:

“...guidelines on how to interpret and function in social situations. Organizations comply with logics in order to gain endorsement from important referent audiences and because logics provide a means of understanding the social world and thus for acting confidently within it” (Greenwood et al., 2011, p.321).

Culture is no longer a homogeneous set of characteristics that defines an institution or organization, but rather can vary as an agent or individual changes location within the institution or order and applies highly personal forms of sensemaking or decision making to rationalize his or her position and role in that order (Friedland and Alford 1991, p.242). This insight implies that economic rationales are not the only determinants of change and subsequent

research has shifted focus slightly to encompass additionally political, cultural and ecological determinants of such shifts (Thornton, 2002). Lounsbury and Glynn (2001) also discuss the use of stories (symbolic language) to justify and then legitimate the activities of entrepreneurs such that they attract additional resources for their ventures.

Greenwood et al. (2010) question the prevalence of research on dominant market-oriented logics governing organizational practice and change and give insight into other institutional forces such as the family and the state and their impact on organizations. Moreover, the characteristics of an organization such as its structure, ownership, governance, and identity can make it particularly sensitive to certain logics and less so to others, with the multiplicity of extant logics and their degrees of incompatibility exacerbating the complexity of organizational practice and responses to change (Greenwood et al., 2011, p.334).

The ability of organizations to maintain numerous logics is discussed by Thornton et al. (2012) in their exegesis of their microfoundational model of institutional logics to explain why an individual actor's position within the organizational field may determine what forms of social practice he/she engages in and which logic or logics may prevail as a consequence.

Much research on institutional logics has also focussed on the instruments or carriers of the logics according to which the institution operates. These tend to reflect normative and coercive isomorphic tendencies that affect a particular occupational group or profession operating within a given environment. This so-called 'functional' approach contrasts with the later 'conflict' perspective, which shifted the level of analysis:

"Whereas functional scholars had concentrated their attention on the history and functioning of a single occupational group, conflict scholars upgraded to a population ecology level, comparing and contrasting the history and experience of multiple occupations as they competed for dominance, or even to an organization field level, taking into account the existence of numerous, competing players, as well as the role of the state" (Scott, 2008, p. 221).

The exploration of the nature of conflict and resistance in organizational fields at an organizational and individual level tends to be neglected in much neo-institutional literature. Whilst recognising the existence

of multiple logics and the competition amongst them to dominate a field, the actual mechanisms by which this occurs and the means employed by actors to both accommodate alternative logics whilst maintaining previously held ones is less well documented. In the next section we review the literature relevant to the cultural/creative sector that does reflect a conflict/resistance outlook and that is articulated at both an organizational and actor level.

2.6 Conflicting Logics of Social and Creative Practice within Cultural Fields

In institutional environments where prevailing logics are threatened through alternative business models or as the result of policy changes research has tended to focus on the determinants that either describe or justify the logics, for example the rate at which a ‘new’ organizational form is adopted (Thornton, 2002) or examine the mechanisms that actors use to accommodate competing logics over a period of time (Reay & Hinings, 2009). Other research has looked in more detail at how a redefinition of organizational participants can be used to supplant one logic with another using business planning as a control mechanism (Oakes et al., 1998). Further research has examined how the situation of an actor within a particular organizational environment can result in diverse micro-level institutional logics being accommodated despite the existence of overarching institutional logics that have gradually evolved through combinations of social interactions that shape social practices and structures (Sarma, 2013, p.135)¹³.

Underpinning these strands of research are two main concepts, namely that logics influence organizational forms and managerial practices and secondly that logics are historically contingent (Greenwood et al., 2010).

“Although situated in the neo-institutional literature, the concept of institutional logics as an orienting strategy has been rejected as simply an extension of studies on isomorphism or attempts to address the structure-agency dialectic due to the limited autonomy of the agent” (Sarma, 2013, p.134).

¹³ Source: Book Review in Organization Studies 34(1) 133–136.

In this case society is conceptualised as an inter-institutional system to allow for institutional logics to be applied at macro (societal), meso (organizational) and micro (individual) levels of analysis. As Thornton, 2002, p.83 observes:

“Individuals, organizations, and society constitute three nested levels, wherein organization- and society-level institutions specify progressively higher levels of opportunity and of constraint on individual action.”

In other words, the basis for conforming or conflicting with the prevailing opportunities or constraints is provided by institutional logics using sensemaking and decision-making mechanisms that help to rationalize responses and inform discursive strategies addressing the legitimacy, identity and practices of field participants.

Opponents of the instrumental, market-driven view contend that the diversity of cultural workers and their roles in the creative process and the environments in which they operate necessitates an alternative analytical perspective that focuses instead on social relations rather than on set organizational structures and boundaries. At an individual level the question arises as to how such conflicting logics affect the creative and artistic practices of those directly involved in producing cultural works such as artists, dancers and artisans. This is as yet a comparatively under-researched area in the cultural industries debate, but Bourdieu offers a means to examine these phenomena:

“We suggest that Bourdieu, with his emphasis not just on the material production of the creative objects, but also on their construction as a work of value, provides a framework that would allow us to address some of these issues. An analysis of cultural products must consider their significance both within a field of artistic development and a sociological field of power relations (Bourdieu, 1993). ‘Culture’ or creative works are not autonomous objects offering a reflection on the ‘human condition’, although they may function as this. They are implicated in structures of domination and the reproduction of these structures. Bourdieu rejects an analysis of creative work solely examining its inter-textually, but equally rejects analyses that presents it as the ‘product’ of structural relations” (Townley et al., 2009, p.943).

The logic of professionalization is one of the main sources of rationalization apparent in institutional theories. The normative effect of professionalization becomes the source of legitimacy within an organizational field as actors adopt behaviours to conform to organizational and professional norms (Covaleski et al., 1998). The normative and regulative mechanisms used to bring about conformity and shape individual behaviours and perceptions are described in terms of techniques used to discipline and shape organizational actors. In Bourdieuan terms these mechanisms are defined as pedagogic actions and involve resources or capital that can be used to modify sources of legitimacy and identity in order to promote a new or insurgent logic (Oakes et al., 1998).

From a constructionist standpoint some researchers have focused on the nature and distribution of different types of capital within a field in order to understand the tensions that arise from the conflicting logics perspective and describe the role of personal motivation, ability and opportunity to accumulate, trade and translate capital in a given field (Townley, 2009; Ozbilgin & Tatli, 2005).

Pedagogic practices such as business and funding application processes have also been examined in the context of effecting changes in logics of practice and as a distinct way of countering or mediating the options for resistance:

“The power of pedagogy lies in its ability to name things in a way that diminishes the possibility of resisting because the process appears neutral and normal-“technical.” Although pedagogy may be imported or imposed externally, it almost certainly actively involves members of the field” (Oakes et al., 1998, p.272).

Moreover, arts patronage and organizational responses to commercial as opposed to public subsidy represents a different type of pedagogy. The contract that underlies a negotiation for funding support will inevitably place obligations on the arts organization to present a favourable view of the sponsor. Although overt coercion is not involved, the need to replace public subsidy with private funds via a commercial arrangement gives sponsors a mechanism for domination that may undermine the ‘emancipatory, cognitive and critical role’ that culture plays. The potential outcome is that:

“Such a link will eventually lead the public to believe that business and culture are natural allies and that a questioning of corporate interest and conduct undermines arts as well. Art is reduced to serving as a social pacifier” (Haacke [cited in Chong, 2010, p.63]).

Furthermore, the economic imperative of the relationship may actually override inherent contradictions and conflicts between commercial and artistic logics and come to dominate the relationship between the arts organization and the sponsor. The exchange of symbolic capital for economic capital in such a case may result in the artistic integrity and legitimacy of the arts organization being questioned as a consequence as in the unfortunate case of the LAMoCA and its Murakami exhibition in 2007 (Chong, 2010, p.73). Therefore adopting this perspective enables us to link economic rationality arguments for change at an institutional and organizational level with Bourdieu’s concepts of individual resistance and compliance and to pursue a critical analysis of discourses generated from a coercive (i.e. by policy makers) and a normative perspective (i.e. by dance practitioners).

Whilst much of this type of analysis illustrates how multiple (or dominant and subordinate) logics can be accommodated into the overall operation of an organization, what is less clear is how individual dispositions and habitus, i.e. the cultural, educational and social background of individual actors, affect the forms and extent of the resistance or compliance exhibited as a response. Furthermore, the historical trajectory of development of non-market institutions such as policy making bodies is not examined in understanding the dynamics of change in a field where organizations are particularly subject to coercive forms of isomorphism, such as the subsidised performing arts sector.

Understanding this aspect is important as it establishes a firmer link between the concepts of historic institutionalism (macro level), structuration (organizational) (meso level) and individual (micro level) agency in understanding how policy development and dissemination processes translate policy inputs into outcomes in terms of social and creative practice.

Some research has emphasised the role of discourse as a means to accommodate both market-oriented and managerial logics alongside artistic ones. Eikhof & Haunschild’s examination of artistic work and actors in

publicly funded German theatres (2006; 2007) is a case in point. For example, 'bohemian entrepreneurs' is the term that Eikhof & Haunschild (2006) use to describe actors who display behaviours that are both conventional as well as unconventional, with the term 'entrepreneur' referencing their strategies for enhancing employment chances and the word 'bohemian' being used to differentiate actors' (unconventional) lifestyle habits from the (conventional) bourgeoisie in order to motivate and establish an identity for actors distinct from ones dominated by mainly economic logics .

Inherent in these examples of research amongst specifically creative or cultural organizations and actors is a rejection of mechanistic analysis of activity based solely on production and consumption models. For DeFillippi et al. (2007) the project-based, networked and heterogeneous nature of much creative activity, whether it be in the worlds of theatre, haute cuisine, Hollywood or contemporary dance, reveals the essential paradox of applying classical management theories to temporary systems.

Although the influence of identity and practice on re-shaping logics is recognised as an important feature of change by neo-institutionalists, including Thornton et al. (2012), a comprehensive explanation of variations in practice is not provided, creating scope, according to Sarma, for

“...further research by exploring how social interactions such as decision-making, sense-making and collective mobilization can moderate the effect of practice variation, and how organizational identity and practice can act as a conceptual link between institutional logic and interinstitutional system” (Sarma, 2013, p.135).

Also, less attention has been directed at examining the degree to which the organizational practice (in terms of compliance with or resistance to new or conflicting logics) is historically contingent upon previously held notions of identity, legitimacy and practice.

In the following sections we consider the contribution that the literature on sensemaking, identity and Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and practice make to dealing with these gaps in institutional theory.

2.7 Sensemaking and Sensegiving

Sensemaking refers to ongoing retrospective, interpretive processes that rationalize organizational behaviour, helping to resolve ambiguity in ways that enable activity to occur (e.g., Weick et al., 2005; Weber & Glynn 2006). Sensegiving is a specific form interpretation, whereby the interpretation process is guided or influenced by members of the organizational hierarchy in order to privilege a particular understanding or organizational reality or change (Maitlis, 2007).

Researchers have examined sensemaking in terms of how it affects extant logics (Gephart, 1992 [cited in Maitlis, 2005, p.21]) and influences the emergence of new organizational practices (Nigam and Ocasio (2010)). Other strands have explored the triggers for sensemaking, particularly in the context of dynamic or turbulent change (Weick, 1993), also examining the role of sensemaking in response to organizational upheaval as a means of preserving or constructing a meaningful identity or image (Gephart, 1993; Pratt, 2000; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991 [cited in Maitlis, 2005, p.21]). As an inherently social practice sensemaking has been examined as a means by which senior organizational actors seek to influence (give sense to) the interpretation of events amongst their subordinates (Maitlis & Lawrence, 2007). The dynamics of simultaneous sensemaking by parties as they construct and attempt to reconcile their accounts of organizational issues has also been the subject of investigation (Maitlis, 2005).

The important role of language in sensemaking has likewise been the subject of inquiry, for example as in Nigam and Ocasio's (2010) analysis of the emergence of a managed care logic in the U.S. health care industry. Specialised vocabularies have been shown to link symbolic representations with material practices in organizations through the categorisation of words and phrases so as to guide and direct attention amongst practitioners as new logics emerge (Loewenstein and Ocasio, 2003; Ocasio and Joseph, 2005). However, the exploration of this type of sensemaking and sensegiving is less well explored in organizational settings where the structures and practices appear more fluid and dynamic, e.g. in artistic or performance-oriented settings such as dance companies.

2.8 Identity

Identity is a difficult concept to define and measure. Whilst closely related to the notion of culture, it has generated its own body of literature that encompasses instrumental as well as more critical perspectives of organizational change.

From an organizational perspective Albert & Whetten (1985) represent identity as the answer to a set of questions intended to identify features of the organization that are core, distinctive and enduring. Hatch and Yanow (2008) in contrast challenge this positivist view with their constructivist position based on the notion that:

“...organizational identities emerge in and through the lived experiences stakeholders have of their organizational lives and activities” (Hatch & Yanow, 2008, p.33).

Similarly,

Brown & Humphreys see:

“...organizational identities not as generally static and objectively existing entities, but as extremely fluid discursive constructions constantly being made and re-made” (2006, p.233).

At the individual actor level, Linstead and Thomas (2002, p.5) conceptualise identity formation as a compromise between what an individual wants and what the organization wants from him or her. At an organizational level Gioia et al. (2010, p.4) suggest that managing expectations on both sides is a core aspect of the study of organizational identity more generally.

This latter perspective implies a dynamic process involving continuous exchanges between reflections inside the organization about “Who we are” and impressions gained from interactions between organizational members and other stakeholders. This exchange of impressions between stakeholders inevitably draws on both inherent characteristics such as gender, social class and educational background (i.e. in Bourdieuan terms, *habitus*) as well as ‘ideal-typical images of occupations’ and is subject to fluctuations as actors and organizations continually compete for capital and favourable positions in the field. In turn, positional identities can shift as stakeholders contest the right to define or ‘name’ the dominant form and distribution of capital in the field.

In the cultural field attention has been paid to the effect of changes to organizational identity resulting from differences in understanding of organizational objectives (Glynn, 2000) by different members of the organization, in this case between the members of a symphony orchestra and its board. Identification with an organization has also come under scrutiny in Bhattacharya et al.'s (1995) marketing study of the characteristics that shape the degree of affiliation or bond between an art museum and its members.

Identification studies have, however, tended to focus either on how identity is constructed and maintained in an organizational setting or on how legitimacy is bestowed amongst current employees of the organization (Lok, 2010). The results of the analysis have tended to indicate that prestige, tenure of membership are positively correlated to levels of organizational identification. Notably, the definition of identification draws on the assumption that:

“Identification enables the person to partake vicariously of accomplishments beyond his or her powers” (Bhattacharya et al. 1995, p. 47).

This implies a distance from or only indirect involvement with an organization's focal activities, which contrasts with that of producers of actual cultural goods and services. For example, in the creative industries literature individual identities draw on discourses that emphasise ‘otherness’ and ‘uniqueness’ and that set them apart from other more conventional organizational models situated in the commercial world. When these discourses clash with the prevailing logics, for instance due to the need to maintain employment and earn money, actors may subscribe to a common identity that represents the desired state, but adopt contradictory behaviours to simultaneously promote artistic independence and integrity.

In Eikhof and Haunschild's 2006 analysis of the publicly funded theatre system in Germany actors constructed discourses that depicted them as ‘bohemians’, allowing them to identify themselves with a group distinct from the managers and administrators of the theatres. Moreover the bohemian identity accommodated the concept of creative entrepreneurship, which suggests economic and innovative opportunism, in the form of selective

application of effort by actors to secure more lucrative roles or promote themselves.

The acceptance of imposed pedagogic practices is at least partly symbolic, whereas resistance can be both direct and symbolic. For example the entire bohemian discourse described by Eikhof & Haunschild can be regarded as a form of symbolic resistance, but direct resistance occurs when the individual acts in self-interest to pursue his or her own interests instead of those of the organization by accepting other engagements outside existing contractual obligations. Here a potential gap in the literature is highlighted in that the process by which individuals decide on what form of compliance or resistance to adopt with regard to the pedagogic practice is less clearly described in existing bodies of work.

The impact that such decisions can have on the field of dance and its protagonists is illustrated by Andrée Grau in her essay on identity in which the tensions that exist between different genres of dance, ballet and contemporary are conveyed as beliefs concerning the perceived ability of one genre to perform the other's repertoire and the privileging of one form of dance practice over another in terms of government funding (Grau, 2007, p.202). In this example identification with a particular dance genre, the ability to perform the requisite repertoire and the resentment over funding is influenced by historical and external forms of validation and legitimation as well as the habitus of the artists associated with each genre.

2.9 Bourdieu and the Conceptualisation of Power in Fields of Cultural Production

In developing his theory of practice Bourdieu established links between culture, social structures and power. He argued that in order to exercise power and achieve legitimacy in a contested arena of social or cultural life or 'field' as he termed it, it is necessary to dominate other actors and gain their compliance. To achieve legitimacy, resources comprising different forms of capital can be deployed establish a favourable position. These resources may consist of economic or political, but also symbolic forms. It is this emphasis on

symbolic dimensions in power relations that differentiates Bourdieu from classical theories such as Marxism (Swartz, 1997, p. 82).

Furthermore, whereas many institutional views of power and control consider primarily the way in they are exercised or maintained, Bourdieu enables a closer examination of the nature of the resistance that actors and organizations can and do display in opposing the imposition of control mechanisms.

The arena of conflict or resistance for Bourdieu is the field, which although undergoing changes in definition over the course of time and being accused of ‘discrepant usage’, was regarded as a valuable concept with observers referring to, e.g. its aid in heuristic analysis and its contribution to addressing the structure-agency problem (Warde, 2004, p.13). We adopt the definition used by Bourdieu in the *Rules of Arts* in which he states that:

“A field is a relatively autonomous structures domain or space, which has been socially instituted, thus having a definable but contingent history of development. One condition of the emergence of a field is that agents recognise and refer to its history. Some fields have more autonomy than others and some parts of fields more than other parts” (Bourdieu, 1996/1992, Oxford: Polity Press).

Fields are arenas for exchange, where one form of resource or capital is substituted for another, but also one where the relative positioning of actors operating in the field is important in their ability to access or dominate resources. Although fields bear some resemblance to institutions as the term is used in Organizational Theory, fields differ from the latter in that they can exist within institutions or span several institutions; thus struggles can occur inside or at the boundaries of a designated field.

Although the accumulation or right to control resources or capital in the field is crucial to assuming a dominant position, the measures employed by actors to gain those resources is equally important in establishing legitimacy. The strategies or practices employed by actors themselves may vary from field to field and will depend on the participants. In dance the focal point for conflicts over resources inevitably revolves around the body, both physical and social. As Helen Thomas explains:

“It [the body] is a carrier of symbolic value, which develops in concert with other social forces and is important to the preservation and reproduction of social inequalities. The body in modern society, for Bourdieu, has come to constitute a form of physical capital. The commodification of the body does not only refer to the buying and selling of its labour power under capitalism. It also pertains to the ways in which the body has come to be inscribed and invested with power, status and particular symbolic forms that are crucial to the accumulation of certain resources. Social bodies, then, are not simply written-on pages. Rather, they are produced by acts of labour, which in turn have a bearing on how individuals develop and maintain their physical being” (Thomas, 2003, p. 56-57).

Desmond observes that movement of the body is a form of Bourdieuan distinction between social groups and is “so ubiquitous, so "naturalized" as to be nearly unnoticed as a symbolic system and that movement is a primary not secondary social "text" (Desmond, 1993, p.36). This focus on the body and the control of its movement as a means of differentiation is recognised as a source of tension between different dance genres (Grau, 2007). It can also serve as a useful focal point to compare and contrast the responses to cultural policy implementation in terms of the individual habitus and field dynamics extant in the dance sector. Discursive legitimation strategies adopted by actors and organizations to reinforce identities and establish alternative or modified forms of artistic practices as a means to justify access to resources offer a way to conduct multi-level analysis and is the approach adopted in this dissertation.

2.10 Conclusions

The literature review contributes to the construction of the integrated institutional logics theoretical framework described in Chapter Three (3). The review highlights gaps in cultural policy research and institutional theory and how these theories apply to dance studies. Our objective is to conduct a multi-layer analysis of the impact of cultural policy on logics of practice influencing legitimacy, identity and artistic practice in the UK and German contemporary dance sectors. In the overarching research design described in Chapter Four (4)

we demonstrate how to do this using a comparative-historical approach based on contrasting historical determinants of cultural policy and its implementation in both countries. Issues arising from conflicts between logics are explored using critical discourse analysis to illustrate processes of sensegiving and sensemaking as participants seek to rationalize their constructed understanding of reality.

The historical determinants of cultural policy making in a present-day context of globalization and neo-liberalism are relatively well understood. However, whilst cultural policy literature and work on institutional logics has emphasised institutional issues of structure and practice, the way in which these changes manifest themselves at an organizational and actor level is less well documented (Pratt, 2005). Studies focusing on contemporary dance have extrapolated the implications of policy on specific dance works and events (Pakes, 2004) as well as the distortions that imported, extrinsic objectives can have on the training market for performers (Neelands et al., 2006).

The Creative Industries' discourse has also been shown to emphasise the value of cultural economics in commercial, creative environments and settings and underplay the artistic sense of value, particularly in artistic fields that have limited economic potential. Business management practices, capabilities and skills governing productive activities have also been applied to distinctly creative/artistic environments, but fail to adequately capture the variations in status, identity and practice that result from the imposition of privileged logics that are inherently extrinsic.

In a dance context the majority of examples tend to be singular, historical and largely descriptive when examining contemporary dance and its trajectory in the UK and Germany since World War 2. We address this gap in Chapter Five (5) where we document the history of dance in Europe up to the present day and apply this context to the policy analysis conducted in Chapter Six (6) to identify the logics and discourses specific to the UK and German cultural and contemporary dance sectors. In Chapter Seven (7) we then compare and contrast the implications of policy implementation on selected organizations and representatives of the sector in both countries to exemplify the way in which legitimacy, identity and notions of artistic practice are contested amongst institutional, organizational and individual participants. This

aims not only to illustrate the analysis using cases examples, but also to show how the integrated framework can be operationalized at each level.

CHAPTER THREE Theoretical Frameworks: Multi-Level Analysis of Cultural Policy Determinants and Practice Discourse

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe a theoretical framework that addresses research questions that firstly, ask why differences exist between countries in the implementation of cultural policies in spite of articulating similar instrumental aims and secondly, examine how dance sector organizations and individuals mediate the effects of extrinsic policy objectives through changes to notions of legitimacy, identity and artistic practice and to their relative positions in the field of contemporary dance.

We apply an integrated institutional logics framework to the analysis of key cultural policy texts and the responses to those texts amongst dance sector practitioners that reflects the approach proposed by Thornton et al. (2012). The framework is characterised by four main principles that see institutions and their structures as firstly, part of broader social and cultural systems comprising actors who can influence institutional change depending on their positioning within the system or field and concomitant access to resources. Secondly, the integrated approach recognises institutions as combining both material and symbolic elements, i.e. (visible) structures and practices and (invisible) interpretations and perceptions. Thirdly, we understand that the positioning of institutions, organizations and actors in a field is historically contingent. We apply this assumption to the comparative historical analysis of the UK and German dance sectors to demonstrate differences in emphasis and prioritisation of cultural policy making and responses amongst dance field practitioners in both countries. Fourthly, we recognise that logics can reside in multiple forms and at multiple levels within a field. We combine these principles with Bourdieu's concept of power and capital to examine the nature of the conflict that arises when logics are in competition for dominance with each other and how these conflicts are resolved or maintained through strategies that enhance

or replace previous notions of legitimacy and identity by organizations and individuals.

We use sensemaking as a means to trace the forms of interaction, e.g. discourses, which “mediate between the competing logics and the dynamics of identities and practices within and across organizations” (Thornton et al., 2012, Ch. 6, Abstract). This gives us insight into the mechanisms used to justify or rationalize changes to organizational practice and identity and legitimate claims about new or modified roles and their organizational contribution.

Finally we extend the structure proposed by Thornton et al. (2012) epistemologically and methodologically by referencing Fairclough’s (1992) three-dimensional critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework in which discourse is analysed firstly as text, secondly as discursive practice and thirdly as social practice. The application of CDA in this way enables us to study how sensemaking manifests itself in the linguistic exchanges between protagonists and illustrate how the discourses identified in the policy texts “...render logics of action and material practices legitimate” (Brown et al., 2012, p.299). It also gives us the means to examine how protagonists compete for the dominance of their logics at multiple levels, i.e. from the institutional, policy making level down to the actor level as they respond to attempts to legitimate new or incoming logics. Lastly it enables us to exemplify and evidence the claims we make about how new or alternative logics are privileged at an institutional level and then appropriated amongst organizations and practitioners.

3.2 Institutional logics

Max Weber, the German ‘economic sociologist’ laid the foundations for the emphasis on efficiency and economic advantage that govern the administrative structure of organizations and the rationale for change. Underpinning this perspective is the notion that organizations and individuals and their actions are governed by rational rules and principles linked to the ‘efficient’ management of the organization in a market competing against other similar organizations and with specific economic goals in mind. Legitimacy and control are seen as directly linked to the ability to deploy resources with those in a subordinate position voluntarily accepting the orders given to them,

i.e. recognising implicitly the authority of those at a higher level in the hierarchy. Thus, economic rationality frequently forms the basis of the discourses used to justify or explain the need for organizational change. It can also be regarded as a fundamental institutional logic that characterises the values and principles that apply to an organization and which during the course of the 20th century has gained in importance as a market-oriented perspective has become the dominant form of assessing social worth or value.

Later institutional theorists challenged the purely rational basis for the existence of organizations, e.g. Selznick (1948). He wanted to distinguish between organizations constructed as purely mechanistic instruments and:

“...organisations viewed as an adaptive, organic system, affected by the social characteristics of its participants as well as by the varied pressures imposed by its environment” (Scott, 1995, p. 18).

It was with the seminal work by Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (1967, [cited in Scott, 1995]) that the cognitive view of organizational life gained purchase as an alternative to the rational-legal model, i.e. as something that:

“...emphasised the creation of shared knowledge and belief systems rather than the production of rules and norms. Cognitive frameworks are stressed over normative systems” (Scott, 1995, p. 13).

This social constructionist approach to organizational life combined with the earlier work of Selznick and others, including Gouldner (1954) and Zald (1970) resulted in the foundational works by Meyer and Rowan (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983) that now form the basis of so-called new institutional theory that emerged during the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Although the neoinstitutional model recognised the importance of cognition in shaping the structure and practices of organizations, deficits in the understanding of the role of actors in these activities as a means of explaining persistent variations in spite of isomorphic pressures were highlighted in later research by Friedland and Alford (1991). Whilst a number of research strands emerged that attempted to explain the sources and consequences of organizational heterogeneity, particularly in relation to dissimilar practices, the emphasis was primarily on instrumental self-interest or strategic rationality (Lounsbury, 2008, p. 353).

The emergence of institutional logics enabled researchers to broaden the basis for examining organizational variations and re-establish the link between institutions and actors in terms of maintaining stability or invoking change.

We apply Thornton's (2004, p.69) definition of institutional logics as:

"...the socially constructed, historical pattern of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality."

Thus, logics are subliminal aids or constructs that help individuals and organizations 'make sense' of the environment and deal with uncertainty or ambiguity applying practices that distinguish their existence within the organization.

"Individuals, organizations, and society constitute three nested levels, wherein organization- and society-level institutions specify progressively higher levels of opportunity and of constraint on individual action" (Thornton, 2002, p.83).

More concretely, when institutional logics are applied to an environment they are seen as shaping understanding and meaning around identity and legitimacy; prioritising issues for the organization and determining which solutions organizational leaders should focus on (Thornton, 2002, p.83).

Within the institutional research agenda arguments draw on economic rationality as the main guiding principle for the way in which organizations, including cultural ones, organize and function. Where multiple or alternative logics exist, the eventual shift from one dominant one to another is typically determined by a market-oriented logic aimed at increased economic returns (Thornton, 2002; Lounsbury 2007).

However, as Townley et al. (2009, pp. 943-944) observe, in a creative or cultural industries' context especially where the outcomes of the creative activity are judged in terms of aesthetic value as well as material value the:

"...social context 'conditions' how a creative product is produced, circulated and consumed. What is required is an analysis of the material and the symbolic production of creative work: the social relations in which productive practice takes place and the

configuration of social relations that permit the consecration of creative work.”

Although Thornton et al. (2012) provide a theory of how practices and symbolic constructions are linked through the development of field-level vocabularies it is problematic when applied to a specifically creative or cultural production environment. Implicit in Loewenstein and Ocasio’s (2003) so-called ‘*principle 3 The modularity of systems of linguistic categories*’ is the assumption of a hierarchy within bureaucratic organizational settings that applies equally to the vocabularies in use in those settings.

In an artistic or creative setting the roles that govern the productive practices are frequently fluid, e.g. that of choreographer-dancer, or are a part of a network that may operate outside the field and where the productive process and organising structures will frequently appear to be unstructured, spontaneous and unpredictable.

However, the increased use of technical production methods and economic pressures has resulted in artists and artistic organizations becoming integrated into complex production processes as they combine industrialization with traditional creative practices (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006, p.237). This in turn has exacerbated the fundamental tension between logics that is one essentially about creativity and control. Townley (2002) theorised this tension in terms of a clash between the dominant ‘value spheres’ that exist in a field and insurgent rationalities. Hence where formal¹⁴ rationality clashes with the prevailing substantive rationality as the main source of organizational identity or value sphere, conflict and resistance may arise. However, an in-depth exploration of conflict and resistance between insurgent logics and existing ones at a micro or actor level is required to test such conceptualisations at a more empirical level.

Bourdieu provides us with a means to frame not only the symbolic ‘work’ more distinctly, but also deal with the issues of conflict and resistance

¹⁴ Kalberg (1980) identified four types of rationality used in Max Weber’s work. These included formal (a means-end rational calculation) and substantive rationality (a preference for certain ultimate values). Two types of rationality inform the rational action familiar to organization theorists: substantive rationality informs value-rational action, and formal rationality informs instrumentally rational action (Townley, 2002, p. 165).

that arise as incumbent logics clash with insurgent ones for the right to control the legitimation of creative work.

To do so, we describe a framework in the next section that accesses Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital and practice and their role in influencing the configuration of the social relations that govern productive practice and power relations. Furthermore we argue that where the distribution and legitimacy of the resources or capital in the field are fundamentally altered, distortions in organizational purpose and individual identity may result. These distortions represent a "... 're-structuring' of relations between the economic, political and social domains (including the commoditisation and marketization of fields like education – it becomes subject to the economic logic of the market), and the 're-scaling' of relations between the different levels of social life..." (Fairclough, 2003, p.4). Fairclough goes on to highlight the significance of this in his 'manifesto for critical discourse analysis' in which he describes the role of critical research in helping to understand better the social changes brought about by economic developments characterised by the umbrella term 'globalization' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 203).

We also show how this complements work on identity that shows how actors use various microprocesses when conducting identity work to adapt to or modify challenges to extant institutional logics (Lok, 2010). Applying Bourdieuan theory allows us to extend this work to examine to what extent self-identity and role identities within organizational settings are affected by insurgent logics and consider the historically contingent nature of in situ logics and how they mediate and are mediated by challenges to organizational practices and identity at an actor and organizational level.

A notable example of this phenomenon in a cultural context is shown in Oakes et al.'s (1998) study of a Canadian public sector heritage organization whereby business planning is seen in terms of a Bourdieuan 'pedagogic action' that legitimates a new vocabulary and a perspective that differs from the one previously in place to the extent that the new discourse results in a devaluation of the agents' own capital and a loss of control (Everett, 2002, p.62).

3.3 Bourdieu's Relational Concepts of Field, Capital and Practice

The recognition that social relations are embedded and both enabled and constrained by the environment in which they exist is one that institutional theorists have used to expand work on studying the struggles that arise in fields when insurgent logics threaten existing ones. Whilst much of this work has tended to focus on institutional and organizational settings, the actor-level perspective on conflict and tension and how it links the diffusion of changes to identity and practice to changes in logics is less well examined.

“A focus on actors is crucial to understanding how these struggles play out and result in the creation of new logics and practices” (Lounsbury, 2008, p.355).

In this context actors are agents who are socially constituted beings and who contribute both to the construction of the field and are simultaneously defined by their positioning in the field. The resources that actors bring into play and how they use them in order to contest for dominance in a field are primarily intangible and can fluctuate. These resources can comprise intellectual, cultural, symbolic, social and economic assets and depending on their configuration determine the ability to influence the functioning and change within a field. Thus, the structure of the field is hierarchical and constraining. By advocating Bourdieu's 'relational' or 'structural' mode of thinking that essentially argues that the attributes and properties of agents and actors in institutional settings are not independent of the environments or relationships within which they 'act' (Bourdieu, 1968 [cited in Schwartz, 1997, p.61]) we move closer to understanding why, although multiple logics may be available to actors, only some are accessible depending on their (the actors') positioning in the field (Sarma, 2013, p.133).

In a creative or artistic environment such as the contemporary dance sector, where the intangibility of creative 'products' foregrounds symbolic practices, the right to consecrate or determine what is valuable and legitimate is closely related to the structuring of power relations:

“ 'Culture' or creative works are not autonomous objects offering a reflection on the 'human condition', although they may function as this. They are implicated in structures of domination and the reproduction of these structures” (Townley et al., 2009, p.943).

This implies that attempts to reconfigure logics in an artistic field must effect changes to perceptions of artistic value as well as actor- and organizational-level practices and identities. Bourdieu's work demonstrates that the change process is highly complex with actor dispositions or habitus, existing distributions of resources and social relationships effectively determining to what extent and how successful logic changes are likely to be:

“The struggles which take place within the field are about the monopoly of the legitimate violence (specific authority) which is characteristic of the field in question, which means, ultimately, the conservation or subversion of the structure of the distribution of the specific capital” (Bourdieu, 1993 [2], p. 73).

Although Bourdieu rejected suggestions that his theory of capital was economically deterministic, his work did show that non-economic forms of capital like cultural capital are not as stable as economic capital and that the convertibility between forms of capital favours the exchange of economic for cultural and social capital (Swartz, 1997, p.80). Moreover, whilst he drew much criticism for his extension of economic interest to include “...all goods, material as symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation” (Bourdieu, 1977, p.178), he nevertheless was able to demonstrate that there is a political economy of culture; in other words that all cultural production is reward-oriented (Swartz, 1997, p.67); thus demonstrating a degree of alignment with the concept of economic rationality that underlies the majority of institutional theory research.

Additionally, by integrating Bourdieu more clearly into the institutional logics framework posits a way of explaining the variations in the outcomes of identity work that actors undertake when trying to make sense of new logics (Lok, 2010).

Whilst giving us a theoretically robust framework on which to build the analysis, the challenge for institutional logics researchers is how to make tangible the descriptions of changes to identity or practice when logics are contested. The use of vocabularies of practice (Loewenstein and Ocasio, 2003) as rhetorical devices presumes a hierarchical structure and uses categories that reflect classical bureaucratic arrangements to enable organizations and actors to make sense of change based on rational or logical arguments. Bourdieu's

conceptualisation of symbolic systems rejects this implicit theory of consensus to focus more directly on the social and political uses of symbolic systems. Bourdieu argues that we are predisposed to produce social as well as cognitive distinctions in apprehending the social world and differentiate these in terms of hierarchical groupings (Swartz, 1997, p.87).

Bourdieu's concept of habitus is a useful way of testing the propensity to change existing logics as a consequence of perceptions, practices and aspirations acquired previously, so that we gain more insight into the variations in identity work recorded by e.g. Lok, 2010. It also gives us the means to transition between micro- and macro levels of analysis more easily. As Swartz notes:

“Its originality is to suggest that there may be an underlying connection or common imprint across a broad sweep of different types of behaviour, including motor, cognitive, emotional, or moral behaviors. [] But this very appealing conceptual versatility sometimes renders ambiguous just what the concept actually designates empirically” (Swartz, 1997, p.109).

In order to overcome this ambiguity we adopt sensemaking as a set of mechanisms focused on understanding and resolving ambiguity across the different organizational settings represented by our four cases by making distinct use of language, rhetoric, and other symbolic resources. The way this manifests itself is shown by reflecting Fairclough's three-dimensional form of CDA that accords language an important enabling role in furnishing the user with the means to exercises functions of cognition, communication and domination. For Fairclough habitus therefore reflects in part dispositions to talk and write in certain ways, so that language becomes an important instrument in the gaining and maintenance of power within different settings as well as a way in which individuals relate to themselves (Fairclough, 2003, pp.28-29).

3.4 Sensemaking

The concept of sensemaking has been subject to multiple conceptualisations, but the core questions for researchers investigating

sensemaking and its use to ‘structure the unknown’ (Waterman, 1990, p. 41, [cited in Weick, 1995]) ask of actors:

“How they construct what they construct, why, and with what effects...” (Weick, 1995, p.4).

Sensemaking, with its emphasis on context, helps the researcher in a number of ways to navigate the complexities of organizational life from a social constructionist perspective and differentiate it from other explanatory processes such as interpretation. According to Weick (1995, p.17) it has at least seven distinguishing characteristics or properties:

1. It is grounded in identity construction - how actors create identities and why and for what purposes they do this
2. It is retrospective - it looks back on outcomes to explain them rather than looking forward in anticipation
3. It is a form of enactment – enabling interpretations and the resulting actions to reach a form of consensus over time
4. It is social – as a process for understanding interactions within and between groups
5. It is continuous and dynamic – in response to organizational and environmental fluctuations
6. It focuses on cues or triggers derived from various sources to activate it – e.g. technology adoption, environmental disruption, market change
7. It is based on plausibility and common sense rather than accuracy – enabling apparently rational choices and decisions to be made even on the basis of incomplete and/ or unvalidated information

For the purposes of the research presented in this dissertation the characteristics of sensemaking relating to identity construction, its enacting role and its part in responding to various triggers such as cultural policy discourse are the ones of predominant relevance.

Some researchers regard sensemaking as a process that is both retrospective and prospective (Thornton et al., 2012). We apply it in both ways, firstly to the Dance Umbrella and The Place organizational cases as a means to interpret the stages that each navigated in order to reinforce their responses to

policy discourse. Secondly, we apply it in order to establish and articulate a collective identity for a certain genre of dance, that is, Community Dance, using discourse that attempts to rationalize and therefore legitimate it as a dance form distinct from other genres. We describe how leaders in the Community Dance sector use discourse prospectively to shape a shared cognitive and normative orientation for the genre as a legitimate profession on a par with the traditionally hegemonic choreographer-dancer role.

Although Thornton et al (2012) suggest three forms of symbolic representation for the analysis of field-level logics, i.e. theories, frames and narratives to aid the sensemaking process the manner in which they are applied presupposes a structured process for translating individual cognition and understanding into group and collective sensemaking and action.

We have instead adopted a critical discursive approach to the sensemaking process with the intention of uncovering inconsistency, ambiguity and sites of conflict at multiple levels within the dance field as insurgent logics are introduced, manipulated and appropriated during the dissemination process. Implicit in this is a deep concern with language and its essential part in effecting meaning. As Gioia & Mehra (1996, p.1228), in their review of Weick's 1995 book, *Sensemaking in Organizations* observe:

“Weick's concern with the effect(s) of language on sense making seems to permeate just about everything he investigates in this book. Why this preoccupation with language? Put simply, because “sense is generated by words”. It is language that arrests, abstracts, and inscribes the otherwise evanescent behaviors and utterances that make up the stream of ongoing events that swirls about us. And it is these inscriptions—not the events themselves—that serve as the stuff of the sense-making process. For Weick, to understand how sense is made within organizations is to train attention on the language used there. And—as deconstructionists would no doubt hasten to add—to understand how Weick's text makes sense of organizational sense making is to train attention on the language he uses.”

Bourdieu exemplifies the complexity inherent in making the sensemaking process tangible and highlights the combination of both symbolic and material practices required to influence transition in group identities and logics.

“There’s a whole analysis to be done of the ways in which a group is able to constitute itself as a group, to constitute its identity, symbolize itself, to move from a population of workers to a labour movement or a working class. This transition...is a very complicated alchemy in which the specific effect of the ‘discursive supply’, the range of already existing discourses and available models of action (demos, strikes, etc.), plays an important part” (Bourdieu, 1993 [2], p.166).

The focus on language as the source of sensemaking, rather than the events, or actions that constitute changes to logics also draws our attention to the importance of self-reflexivity as part of the research and analysis process.

In the next section we draw together the various strands discussed in this chapter to illustrate how critical discourse provides a mechanism that links the legitimization of new or insurgent logics with challenges to organizational practices and notions of identity.

3.5 Strategies of legitimation: the role of critical discourse in constituting, contesting and legitimating logics

Inherent in critical discourse studies is the notion of hegemony:

“...hegemony is leadership as well as domination across the economic, political cultural and ideological domains of a society. Hegemony is the power over society as a whole of one of the fundamental economically defined classes in alliance (as a bloc) with other social forces, but it is never achieved more than partially and temporarily as an ‘unstable equilibrium’ ” (Fairclough, 1995, p.70).

Discourse is therefore an important resource for the hegemonic force, be it a political, economic or cultural one, in helping to forge, sustain and even fracture alliances between blocs. Given the seminal role played by the two main policy documents in articulating new directions for dance policy we echo the question raised by Brown et al. (2012, p.301), namely:

“...how does an individual text make a case for institutional change?”

We also concur with Brown et al.’s (2012, p.301) view that there is relatively little research available that analyses the role that key texts such as

government inquiry reports and policy statements play in promoting new or alternative logics and that in contexts where multiple logics have been imported from other policy areas conventional arguments based on economic rationality are subject to contradiction and conflict.

Bourdieu exemplified this tendency within the scope of the cultural sector in his polemic on the ‘technologization of discourse’ debates, whereby the universal value of artistic and literary works is at stake, threatened as he saw it by a tendency by policymakers to assign:

“...equal value to all kinds of culture irrespective of the structural forces organizing them into relations of domination and subordination” (Bennett, 2005, p.145).

For Fairclough ‘technologization’ is more generally a discursive weapon that is employed by institutions to effect:

“...social and cultural change and the restructuring of hegemonies, on the basis of strategic calculations of the wider hegemonic and ideological effects of discursive practices” (Fairclough, 1995, p.91).

Whereas Fairclough concentrates on the actual changes to social practices that occur as a result of certain discourses being employed, Bourdieu looks to shifts in social fields and the ‘habitus’ (acquired and embodied dispositions to act in certain ways) of socially diverse agents to influence power relations and establish dominant discourses. Thus, Fairclough draws on the work of Bourdieu and his associate Wacquant to argue that discourse:

“...is endowed with the performative power to bring into being the very realities it claims to describe” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001, [cited in Fairclough, 1995, p.282]).

Although practitioners in the contemporary dance field are not political actors in the sense that Bourdieu often used to exemplify his theories on culture and politics, they nevertheless are subject to political influences resulting not least from the dependence of many organizations in this field on public sector funding. We illustrate how this occurs in our case examination of the Berlin contemporary dance sector as the freelance artistic and performing arts scenes joined forces to campaign as a single voice for better representation and support from the city’s governing cultural bodies.

3.6 Conclusions

This chapter has developed a theoretical framework for conducting a multi-level analysis of the key determinants of cultural policy and the practice discourses used to respond to the privileging of extrinsic over intrinsic institutional logics.

By elaborating on previous research into institutional logics and the politics of dance we aim to address gaps in the organizational literature canon concerning the nature of conflict and resistance when the introduction of conflicting logics results in changes to existing notions of legitimacy, identity and artistic practice within an established field such as dance. We extend the scope of multi-level analysis to create a synthesis of cultural policy (institutional level), organizational level and individual level discourse as a means to explore the variations apparent in the implementation of seemingly similar cultural policy initiatives in two Western European economies, namely the UK and Germany.

The main strengths of the framework enable us to trace historically contingent developments in institutional responsibility for cultural and dance policy development through to the dissemination and implementation of those policies within the relevant cultural field and its organizations. This addresses a weakness in cultural policy research and the role of the state that is recognised by Pratt (2005). Although Pratt recommends a concept of governance that gives greater clarity to policy outcomes, processes and forms of participation the need to accommodate already extant, embedded models of governance, funding and cultural awareness is not apparent. We attempt to address this through a comparative analysis of the policy mechanisms and processes used in the UK and Germany to formulate policy and the vehicles used to advocate it. This highlights differences in the form of management and funding of policy initiatives between the two countries and how Bourdieuan pedagogic practices may be applied to gain compliance amongst participants to the processes that are applied.

Furthermore, whilst the work of Thornton et al. (2012) on a multi-foundational model of institutional logics examines the reasons for the existence of multiple logics in organizational settings, the nature of the conflict

and forms of resistance that arise as a result of the imposition of extrinsic logics is less well understood, particularly at an actor level. Greenwood et al. (2010) give insight into institutional forces that impact on organizations and their logics of practice and suggest that structure, ownership, governance and identity inform and exacerbate the range of responses and level of complexity of organizational practice (Greenwood et al., 2011). Whilst Greenwood et al.'s research raises questions about the competition between logics in commercially or market-oriented organizations for dominance, we specifically examine the impact of an overarching, hybrid logic, i.e. cultural education, on organizational responses in a sector of the dance field focused on public service rather than profit. We draw on dance studies and the main topics of research in that field amongst scholars, namely, politics and identity to expand the scope of existing institutional logics analysis to encompass specifically the relationships of dance artists and organizations with political and cultural institutions and the constructive nature of the interpretation of contemporary dance history, context and artistic practice (Franco & Nordera, 2007, p.4) using critical discourse analysis. This multi-level synthesis of institutional and dance studies research also enables us to help fill gaps between the divergence of dance studies, with its notably intellectual agenda, from the actual experiences of dancers, dance teachers and educators and choreographers in their everyday work (Grau, 2007). This we address in our case examples to demonstrate the ways in which discursive rhetoric articulated at a policy level is adopted, appropriated or rejected at the organizational and actor levels to adapt or reinforce local forms of validation, identity and practice.

In summary we combine institutional theory with cultural and dance politics' research using a comparative approach based on historic institutionalism to create an integrated analytical framework for conducting multi-level analysis in the contemporary dance field. This work provides a bridge between dance studies traditionally focused on historical, aesthetic and collective accounts of dance and its various genres and the move towards dance as a social practice situated in organizations that in turn form part of highly complex institutional environments. This research will give a more nuanced picture of cultural policy determinants and how they impact on different sectors of the arts when implemented.

CHAPTER FOUR METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises the research design, research strategy and methods applied to the analysis of data pertaining to UK and German government policy texts and to the responses to those texts in the form of journal articles, web-site transcriptions of interviews and on-line news reports and articles.

The research strategy is designed to explore questions relating to the discursive role played by government policy on culture in establishing extrinsic logics and how these insurgent logics affect notions of legitimacy, identity and artistic practice amongst actors and institutions in the dance sector through a textual analysis of their responses to these logics. The use of comparative historical analysis allows us to situate the analysis of cultural policy and case study organizations in the UK and Germany in a context that considers the historical, processual, institutional and timing issues that have affected the development of the sector from a cultural and political perspective since World War II up to the present day.

4.2 Research Design

In defining the research questions we acknowledge that there is no single or common answer to queries based on a discursive and therefore interpretive analysis of the texts chosen as the main sources of data. However, the interpretive approach is justified by conducting the analysis in the context of historical cultural policy and dance development. This provides a means to corroborate the findings and derived interpretations by referencing past events. Furthermore, the choice of a cross-national comparative study has the aim of comparing and contrasting responses to the neo-liberal project of cultural commercialisation and performance measurement of public services in two European countries, namely the UK and Germany. The application of comparative historical analysis to the UK and German cultural and dance

sectors serves to highlight similarities and differences between the two. The structure of the analysis is configurational in that we are interested in identifying a set of historical, political and institutional factors that in particular combinations in each country have contributed to distinctive responses to policy initiatives focussed on the contemporary dance sector.

The objects of study are the policy-related texts and the case organizations selected for each country. The findings for each of the research questions provide specific, but potentially different reactions in each of the two national contexts, namely UK and Germany. The emphasis is on the contemporary dance sector in each country. This is a sector that is traditionally under-represented institutionally in favour of classical and ethnic dance forms, including ballet. It is characterised by small, independent organizations comprising freelance artists focused on choreography and performance with professional training provided by specialised schools and conservatoires, mainly within the scope of higher education.

We have ensured *comparability* at a cross-national level by firstly selecting policy texts that were applicable to the entire dance field in both countries and that covered approximately the same period, i.e. the decade between 2000 and 2010. Although the UK has a highly centralised cultural management model and Germany has a devolved one, we do not explicitly consider the political role that the authors of the texts have in terms of enforcing implementation, nor do we consider the degree of autonomy that dance organizations, including the selected case study examples, have in terms of vetoing or modifying the policy initiatives. This constraint enables us to maintain a basis for comparability for both the analysis of the core policy texts and the case organizations.

The *sequence* of events that led to the publication of the main policy texts in the UK and Germany are broadly similar and based on three main factors:

1. Acknowledgement that dance in general was under-represented as an art form when compared to theatre, music or film
2. Adoption of a 'new public management' agenda across the arts that required publicly subsidised organizations to demonstrate positive economic and societal benefits as well as efficient

management of resources in the wake of globalisation and pressures on government finances

3. Recognition that dance as a multi-disciplinary physical activity could serve a variety of social welfare purposes as well as artistic ones.

The key UK policy text (HC 587-I) was published in 2004 and the German Tanzplan initiative launched in 2005. The *timing* of both therefore pre-dates the severe global economic recession of 2008. The subsequent effect that this event had on changes to government funding policies and priorities generally only became apparent from 2011 onwards when, in the case of the UK, a government change took place from Labour to Conservative and in Germany, the Tanzplan programme reached its pre-planned completion deadline. The responses of the dance sectors and their participants in both countries were recorded mainly during the period between 2000 and 2010 allowing us to claim *synchronicity* between the publication and dissemination of the policy texts and the responses to those texts.

4.3 Primary Research Strategy: Comparative-Historical Analysis

The overarching research strategy adopted for this thesis is a comparative-historical (CHA) one, which has been applied to the analysis of cultural policy and its historical trajectory in the UK and Germany. The primary logic underpinning the CHA approach is the ‘contrast of contexts’, where historical processes and institutional arrangements provide the background for the assessment of individual case organizations, i.e. The Place and Dance Umbrella in the UK and the Berlin contemporary dance sector in Germany. Moreover, through an examination of the institutional arrangements that have emerged over time the aim is to understand their role in the discourses used today by cultural policy makers to justify courses of action, including funding as well as the discursive responses used by contemporary dance practitioners and organizations.

The emphasis on discourses generated by both policy makers and dance practitioners and organizations reflects the social constructivist perspective

inherent in the analysis. Furthermore the underlying assumption that much of what is under investigation is dependent on the context in which it is situated, signifies that more than one interpretation of the observations is possible.

We use embedded (i.e. the dance organizations are a sub-set of the context defined by the UK and German cultural policy cases) case examples that are representative of the contemporary dance sector in the UK and Germany. The choice of example organizations is intended as illumination rather than a deductive source of material for theory building or generalization. Thus, we adhere to the particularist view described by Pudelko (2007, p.16) in his assessment of research into the reasons for convergent and divergent business models and practices in an international context. We maintain that political and institutional arrangements and culture are key determinants in the explanation of variations in cultural policy and its outcomes between countries. Thus factors such as legal and regulatory infrastructures have more explanatory influence than (universally) applicable factors such as technology, economics and psychology in explaining variations in observations and outcomes in the comparative analysis at both sector and organizational levels.

This particularist view is also in keeping with Stake (1994/1998, p.88) who views the purpose of a case study to:

“...provide insight into an issue or refinement of theory. The case is of secondary interest; it plays a supportive role, facilitating our understanding of something else.”

In selecting the UK and German dance sector cases we create a holistic comparative basis for the analysis using key discursive themes on legitimacy, identity and artistic practice, derived from the context-setting policy analysis, as common features. However, we explicitly use the analysis to identify and explore the intrinsic characteristics of each case to discuss difference rather than similarity. The findings from this approach are deliberately intended to inform the subsequent discussions about the observed variations in cultural policy deployment and outcomes in the UK and Germany.

In adopting a comparative approach based on ‘descriptively contrasting historical cases to one another’ we reflect the critique of researchers such as Reinhard Bendix and E. P. Thompson of the tendency of generalizing theories

such as structural functionalism and modernization to ignore or underestimate the particular dimensions of objects of study and events (Skocpol, 1984, p.14).

Underpinning this approach is a quest to:

“...seek meaningful interpretations of history, in two intertwined senses of the word meaningful. First, careful attention is paid to the culturally embedded intentions of individual or group actors in the given historical settings under investigation. Second, both the topic chosen for historical study and the kinds of arguments developed about it should be culturally or politically “significant” in the present;” (Skocpol, 1984, p.368).

The advantage of this, with regard to policy setting and implementation, is to draw attention to the particular features of policy that result in similar and divergent responses in culturally, politically and institutionally diverse contexts. Thus, in spite of criticisms that historically delimited theorizing curtails attempts to develop causal propositions with universal validity and that such approaches curb insights into the contexts in which they are gained, nonetheless:

“...comparative historical studies can yield more meaningful advice concerning contemporary choices and possibilities than studies that aim for universal truths but cannot grasp *critical*¹⁵ historical details” (Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003, p.9).

4.3.1 Secondary Research Strategy: A Modified Case Study Approach

Subsumed within the overarching comparative-historical analysis strategy is the case study method which traditionally:

“...focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings; it involves either single or multiple cases and numerous levels of analysis within a particular case. They combine data collection methods such as archives, interviews, questionnaires, and observation, resulting in qualitative or quantitative data or both. It can accomplish various aims: provide description, to test theory or to

¹⁵ Italics are author's own.

generate it, the latter being the main one” (Eisenhardt, 1989, p.532-550).

Yin is even more forthright in his opinion of what constitutes a case study (Yin, 1981, p.59):

“What the case study represents is a research strategy, to be likened to an experiment, a history, or simulation, which may be considered alternative research strategies.”

In the same paragraph Yin proceeds to argue that:

“As a research strategy, the distinguishing characteristic of the case study is that it attempts to examine:

- (a) contemporary phenomenon in real-life context, especially when
- (b) the boundaries between phenomenon from its context are not clearly evident.

Experiments differ from this in that they deliberately divorce a phenomenon from its context. Histories differ in that they are limited to phenomena of the past, where relevant informants may be unavailable for interview and relevant events unavailable for direct observation.”

The research strategy we have adopted is a hybrid between a comparative historical analysis and an embedded case study approach. The reason for this is two-fold: firstly to position the policy analysis in the context of historical developments in cultural policy making to facilitate the selection of a core set of determinant or ‘variables’ that can be compared between the case examples situated in the UK and German dance sectors and secondly, to accommodate the heterogeneous development and nature of the dance field in both countries. This also reflects the decision not to conduct a standardised survey of the sector and constituent organizations.

Both Yin (1994) and Eisenhardt (1989) describe a positivist methodology that justifies the use of a consistent qualitative research approach to define causal relationships between variables and develop theories in the same way as traditional, quantitative methods attempt to do. The importance of a rigorous approach is necessary to deal with the different types of data and the several levels of analysis possible in case study research, which make it

tempting to examine numerous variables simultaneously. The difficulty lies in selecting an appropriate set of variables to examine, especially if the researcher aims to establish causal or correlative relationships between the variables in order to make his or her case study insights generalizable. External validity is enhanced by applying a replication strategy to multiple cases to see whether or not the patterns or findings e.g. processes, constructs and explanations in one case match those in another (Huberman & Miles, 1998).

The weakness of this approach lies in the need to abstract the units of analysis when conducting cross-case research in order to make them comparable, resulting in generalised findings that do not apply sufficiently to any one case. In other words, the inherent uniqueness of a particular case can be lost in the effort to identify universal characteristics (Huberman & Miles, 1998, p.192). In other words, although there is acknowledgement that cases have individually unique features, the implicit assumption of the positivist case study method is that there are generic or common aspects recognizable in all the cases under investigation.

An alternative perspective on case study research and the value of the insight that can be gained from individual examples is available in the work of Robert Stake (1994/1998), i.e. the case plays a supportive role in gaining more insight and understanding into something else. Stake refers to case studies as instrumental or intrinsic, which relates to the emphasis placed on the generalizable or unique features of the research. Thus, the context in which the case exists and the inherent complexity of its environment are assumed to be so unique that the Stake's form of case study analysis can be applied when variation or dissimilar events, processes or contexts are under scrutiny (Hartley, 1994, 2004).

The approach presented here is an inductive one where the context of the research is central to the analysis. Here, the context is that of the UK and German dance sectors. Both sectors have followed complex historical trajectories, particularly since World War II, which would make the deductive method more problematic to apply. This is because it relies on the presumption that the variables under investigation behave in a consistent manner in numerous situations, i.e. the resulting observations are generalizable and that a premise involving one of more variables can always be held to be true. This is an assumption that we do not make, given the extensive range of cultural,

political and institutional determinants that have affected contemporary dance in the past and continue to do so today. Furthermore, there is no requirement to conduct an experiment, i.e. gain control over behavioural events. However, there is an interest in understanding the historical development of contemporary dance and how it has shaped present-day events and behaviours by various organizations and actors in the field.

4.4 Object of Study

In his discussion of the theoretical value to be gained from examining single or few cases, Rueschemeyer highlights the importance of ensuring that the comparison of phenomena in two different national and cultural settings demonstrate conceptual equivalence (Rueschemeyer, 2003, p.331).

For the purposes of the research presented in this thesis we consider the contemporary dance sectors, dance policy texts and case example organizations to be the primary objects of study. The comparison between the UK and Germany assumes that the definition of contemporary dance is equivalent in both countries. On the other hand we acknowledge that the relevant policy texts used for the analysis are not directly equivalent: e.g. Tanzplan (Dance Plan) was a programme of initiatives sponsored at a federal level by the German Cultural Foundation: it was not a formal statement of dance policy whilst the UK's House of Commons report HC 587-I was a proxy used to set future priorities amongst various representatives of the UK dance sector. Nevertheless, we argue that our historical study of the cultural and dance sectors in both countries serves to provide sufficient context for the comparative analysis of the policy texts and case organizations to yield insight into commonalities and differences.

The reason for choosing the UK and Germany is that both countries have a long history of government involvement in cultural policy making, but with different administrative arrangements, structures and processes. The aim is therefore to reflect on how the two countries are responding to the neo-liberal agenda and 'new public management' (NPM) imperatives that have developed in the wake of globalisation and fiscal budgetary pressures at multiple levels, i.e. at an institutional, organizational and individual level. The

historical evolution of dance for both countries covers the mid-19th century to the post-WW2 era. The reference period for the policy analysis is that of the last UK Labour Government, i.e. 1997-2010.

The term ‘contemporary dance’ is used to denote forms of dance that refer to a collection of methods that draw on the various techniques developed during the late 19th and first half of the 20th centuries. This justifies the longitudinal, archival analysis of cultural policy development and provides the context for the subsequent cross-sectional analysis of the UK and German organizational cases.

The terms ‘contemporary’ and ‘modern’ are often used synonymously, but exclude popular forms of dance such as disco, tap and those used as an accompaniment in entertainment formats such as musicals. The emphasis is thus on more exploratory, innovative forms of expression that do not necessarily have widespread commercial or popular appeal. In Europe and particularly the UK, the term ‘contemporary’ is more commonly used than the American terms ‘modern’. Sometimes the term ‘new’ dance is used to denote another form of differentiation from other types of non-classical dance, for example the Dance Umbrella web-site refers to its role in bringing ‘new dance’ to London since 1978. However, to ensure consistency and emphasise the European context the term ‘contemporary’ will be used throughout the thesis.

The organizational study is based on case study methods, but these have been modified to give in-depth illustrations of the discourses generated by policy makers and to show how they are mediated and operationalised within an organizational context, rather than create detailed contextual analyses. Thus, the function of the case study is one of illumination in accordance with Stake and as stated in section 4.3.1.

Both the cross-sectional UK and German cases and the longitudinal, historical study of cultural policy and dance development comprise a corpus of archival secondary data consisting of policy-related documents including commissioned reports and overviews of initiatives, press releases, academic research and news and journal articles and on-line media. Table 4.1 summarises the main data sources used for the analysis of dance policy and practice:

Main data sources	UK	Germany
Dance Policy	House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee.	Tanzplan Abschlussdokument:

Main data sources	UK	Germany
	2004. Arts Development: Dance, Sixth Report of Session 2003-04, Volume 1, HC 587-I	Tanzplan Deutschland, eine Bilanz. 2011
Dance Practice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Dance Umbrella – annual new dance festival hosted in London ▪ The Place – Leading London-based contemporary dance centre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Berlin's Hochschulübergreifendes Zentrum Tanz (HZT) ▪ Freelance dance sector Tanzbüro Berlin (TBB) articulated through their on-line presence at http://www.tanzraumberlin.de

Table 4.1 Primary Data Sources For Policy And Case Study Analysis: UK And Germany

4.5 A Social Constructivist Epistemology and Analysis Methodology

The case study method has been adapted to enable a broader understanding of the contemporary dance field to be developed by selecting examples illustrative of the heterogeneity of the sector, rather than its homogeneous facets. The objective of the analysis is thus to combine existing institutional and sociological theories and examine them critically through the lens of selected organizations to give new insight into the nature of legitimacy, identity and artistic practice amongst dance practitioners and organizations in relation to cultural policies involving contemporary dance in the UK and Germany.

The method adopted for the analysis of the cultural policy texts and those related to the case study organizations reflects a social constructivist view of the world. This requires according to Gill (2000, p.173):

1. “a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge, and a scepticism towards the view that our observations of the world unproblematically yield its true nature to us
2. a recognition that the ways in which we commonly understand the world are historically and culturally specific and relative
3. a conviction that knowledge is socially constructed – that is, that our current ways of understanding the world are determined not by the nature of the world itself, but by social processes
4. a commitment to exploring the ways that knowledge – the social construction of people, phenomena or problems – are linked to actions/ practices (Burr, 1995).”

The limitations placed on the analysis by the lack of empirical interview data necessitated the use of hermeneutic analysis of the texts that are available to us. Knowledge and meaning is derived from interpretation of the secondary texts. However, the meaning is not assumed to be derived from the author's original intent for the text, but rather reflects the significance that we, as researchers, attach to it. We therefore make no claim that our interpretation is a true, objective reflection of reality within the contexts of the case analysis. The heterogeneous nature of the material examined also necessitated continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of the texts to compare meaning and significance with each re-interpretation uncovering another level of understanding.

This form of hermeneutics, referred to by Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000: 55-58) as 'alethic', is particularly conscious of the observer's own pre-understanding or bias towards the research object. In this case policy texts are central to the analysis and play an important pedagogic role in the distribution of resources and allocation of legitimacy within the dance sectors in the UK and Germany. We were thus concerned with surfacing and questioning the power interests (e.g. economic, cultural and professional) that lie at the heart of the discourses generated by policy texts.

It is in this context therefore that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can bring some degree of epistemological and methodological flexibility to dance research by enabling the researcher to target the context of the language and define key variables used to examine topics or, in Fairclough & Wodak's (1997, p.258) words, 'discursive events' such as politics, gender and identity and the practices that shape and are shaped by the discourses that arise from the examination of these topics. In other words, CDA can unearth the ideological intent of discourse and explicitly consider how the inequalities in power relations are reproduced (Fairclough, 1995, p.17).

From a methodological standpoint we applied this perspective to an analysis of UK cultural-policy texts to identify the nature of the relationship between the dance sector and cultural and political institutions and how that relationship is being changed in the wake of significant cuts in funding and an increased emphasis on the economic value of the arts generally. This was most recently reinforced in the UK Culture Secretary's address to the heads of

various arts organizations at the British Museum on 24th April 2013 when Maria Miller stated that:

“I know this will not be to everyone’s taste; some simply want money and silence from Government, but in an age of austerity, when times are tough and money is tight, our focus must be on culture’s economic impact.”¹⁶

Thus the aim of the analysis of texts such as the above example was to examine the purpose of the text and the discourse it exemplified. The discursive analysis of the cultural policy documents showed how the texts were used to coerce (use of text to set agendas, selecting topics or obligating others to adopt certain vocabularies in order to be allowed to voice opinions and be considered legitimate) or dissimulate (e.g. deploy euphemisms or implied meanings).¹⁷

Conversely we also examined the responses and discursive strategies and forms of opposition or resistance that were deployed by dance organizations and their members to maintain, reinforce or re-locate positions of power and influence within the relevant field so as to reserve or even improve access to limited resources. This speaks to the call by Grau (2007) to forge stronger links between dance research and the actual practices of dance’s protagonists within the specific context of cultural policy making and deployment. In doing so we demonstrated how a critical, layered approach to the analysis gave new insight into the logics of practice that underpin the dance sector and the conflict and tension generated by the imposition of external logics favouring the socio-political value of the arts. In turn this created fresh research agendas for both dance and organizational scholars as the conflict between internal and external logics revealed the processes, struggles and contradictions used by members of the field in attempts to reconcile conflicting logics with notions of identity, legitimacy and artistic practices.

¹⁶ Source: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/testing-times-fighting-cultures-corner-in-an-age-of-austerity>. [Accessed 29 April 2013].

¹⁷ Source: Chilton, P. & Schäffner, C. 1997. Discourse and Politics. In (ed) von Dijk, T.A., *Discourse as Social Interaction*, Vol. 2, pp. 212-213.

4.6 Discourse Analysis

In recent decades an increasing criticism of positivistic methodologies and a growing interest in the importance of language in the study of social sciences, arts and humanities led to the development of alternative research methodologies that had a very different epistemological basis from other methods.

Hence, in the study of organizations the researcher essentially has a choice between adopting a predominantly socially constructive perspective that characterises organizations as something akin to ‘bundles’ of meaning and interpretation, where organizational structures, entities and boundaries themselves are in effect transitional states only, subject to constantly changing interpretation and meaning imposition or alternatively, taking a more realist perspective that accepts some degree of stability and acknowledges that there exists a real, albeit invisible, world beyond human perception and experience. The choice of perspective was important in determining the research methods and the data sets used in the research.

However, the role of organizational agents in this ‘real’ world is often assumed to be limited to narrow, instrumental forms of rationality, which assume the individual to be an impartial observer or agent of the organization. This perspective is reflected in various organizational theories including structuralism, institutionalism and systems theory.

A purely interpretive view of the organizational world challenges our ability to ‘know’ anything about the world or even indeed predict what may happen in the future. This problem is further compounded by the fact that language as the main means of communication between individuals is imprecise in signifying meaning. As Alvesson and Sköldbberg contend that:

“...people are assumed to be inconsistent and language is not seen as reflecting external or internal (mental) conditions” (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2000, p. 203).

In other words there is no precise correlation between a word and the idea that it conveys. Each observer or reader sees and then transmits meaning in a way that reflects his or her background, beliefs and the way in which they link ideas and concepts to each other. Thus there are no absolute certainties about reality.

In organizational studies this post-modernist view of the world has led to an emphasis on the processes of organizing rather than on organizations and their structures per se (Chia, 1995; Chia & Mackay, 2007). This mirrors the evolution of institutional studies from Parsonian functionalism through Meyer and Rowan's (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) recognition of cultural and cognitive factors in shaping organizations to the theory of institutional logics that considers the importance of practices, processes and language in enabling organizations to accommodate multiple logics, particularly during times of significant institutional and environmental change (Thornton et al., 2012).

This interest in process has led to the emergence, for example, of strategy-as-practice as a specific area of research in organizational studies. Traditional organizational theories such as institutionalism and systems theory tend to emphasize organizational structure whilst at the same time underplaying the role of individuals in that structure, assigning only pre-defined characteristics to them as agents of the organization and assuming only limited 'cognitive' freedom on their part. Strategy-as-practice theorists also demonstrate tendencies to distinguish between agency and structuralism by either depicting organizational individuals as the conscious authors of change without recourse to internal or external patterns of behaviour or as unconscious instruments of practices and habits that have developed as an "...everyday coping action" (Chia & Mackay, 2007, p.226). Our standpoint reflects the latter in that we adopt Bourdieu's view of unconscious behaviour based on pre-formed dispositions or habitus.

Language in the context of traditional organizational theory is used primarily as a means of information exchange with less emphasis placed on the signification process itself. For researchers and philosophers who look towards the communicative role of language the notion of the 'linguistic turn' is a central one. This perspective is derived from social constructivist work in numerous disciplines, including philosophy, sociology and communications theory, that recognises the importance of language and its use to create, advocate and propagate meaning (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000 [1], [2]). Although the definitional diversity associated with discourse has caused confusion, nevertheless according to Alvesson & Kärreman (2000 [1], p.1126), it comprises essentially of two distinct approaches, namely:

“...the study of the social text (talk and written text in its social action contexts) and the study of social reality as discursively constructed and maintained (the shaping of social reality through language).”

We combine both approaches in our modified use of Fairclough's CDA method to examine how language is used in specific settings, e.g. as rhetoric to achieve a certain purpose and how it is combined into an integrated set of discourses with the aim of changing or displacing the logics that govern the relationships between institutions, organizations and actors in a particular environment or field.

Discourse analysis can help to bridge the gap between information exchange and signification by examining the nature of the response to a communicative event such as the announcement of a policy. Whereas the announcement may simply be viewed as an information exchange, albeit one-way, the discursive approach can identify what aspects of the exchange are consciously and unconsciously adopted by actors in their practices and notions of identity by examining their responses to the announcement to see what forms of compliance, resistance or indifference emerge through the text.

The terms 'discourse' and 'discourse analysis' have resulted in a proliferation of definitions in recent years, particularly as the use of these terms has become more frequent in management research and organization studies (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p.3; Phillips et al., 2008). This is partly due a problem of designation, because discourse was derived originally from the work of linguistic analysts where it had no single, commonly accepted definition. Technically we can differentiate between linguistics and discourse whereby the former concentrates on precise units of text or speech to derive meaning and the latter compounds those units into textual and communicative artefacts to influence the interpretation of an idea or concept.

However, as Oswick et al. (2000, p.1117) contend, whichever stance one adopts language is the common factor between the realist and constructivist views of the world and:

“...our understanding of the material world is inescapably mediated by the discourses we employ.”

Discourse relies on its forms of social interaction such as conversation and its context to achieve its desired effect. Thus it is a relational device that consists:

“...not only of ordered series of words, clauses, sentences and propositions, but also of sequences of mutually related acts” (van Dijk, 1997, p.3).

Central to this concept of discourse is the belief that talk and texts represent social practices and that the role they play in particular circumstances extends beyond the literal meanings of individual words to influence ideas and reactions (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2000[1], [2]; Gill, 2000).

Conversely, although it has no single meaning, discourse can and is put to many uses. The initial role of discourse analysis in organisational studies was largely descriptive with the principal goal being:

“...to demonstrate the connection between the shared norms and values of an organization on the one hand, and the means by which these norms and values are expressed on the other” (Mumby & Clair, 1997, p.182).

As the discipline has advanced researchers have sought to resolve ambiguities in the understanding and use of discourse. Alvesson & Kärreman, (2000 [1], pp.1133-1134) have identified four versions of discourse analysis that assist in differentiating between various approaches to and interpretations of discourse analysis, as illustrated by their framework depicting:

- “micro-discourse approach – social texts, calling for the detailed study of language use in a specific micro-context;
- meso-discourse approach – being relatively sensitive to language use in context but interested in finding broader patterns and going beyond the details of the text and generalizing to similar local contexts;
- Grand Discourse approach – an assembly of discourses, ordered and presented as an integrated frame. A Grand Discourse may refer to/ constitute organizational reality, for example dominating language use about corporate culture or ideology;
- Mega-Discourse approach – an idea of a more or less universal connection of discourse material, which typically addresses more or less standardized ways of referring to/constituting a certain type of phenomenon, e.g. business re-engineering, diversity or globalization.”

In their view the different versions or levels are distinct from one another and cannot be easily combined in the same study, the main distinction being that micro discourses are locally constructed ‘on-site’ whereas mega discourses depend on a priori understanding and meaning being applied to the text in question. On the other hand:

“...a meso-discourse analysis would be somewhat more inclined to look for slightly broader and more general themes while still being careful to avoid gross categorizations” (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000 [1], p.1143).

On one level discourse analysis is a device used to evaluate the logic and claims of texts and to make sense of organizational constructs and phenomena in the light of the inability of linguistics and semiotics to convey meaning precisely. This is demonstrated by the example Alvesson & Kärreman give in their evaluation of Valerie Fournier’s 1998 study of new graduates working in an UK company and how they perceive the career models available to them. Thus,

“The interpretation here is conducted at the micro-discursive level: we read the account as a text (a story, not a truthful testimony of a personal conviction) and look at the claims and logic that it expresses. No assumptions are made regarding the constituting of subjectivity or expressions of meanings (intentions, beliefs, standpoints) outside the situation of language use” (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000[1], p. 1143).

On another level discourse can be used in a more instrumental manner to achieve certain social or political ends through the manipulation of power and knowledge (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000[1], p.1127). This mirrors Fairclough and Wodak’s assertion that Critical Discourse Analysis is a social practice that has ideological potential and can therefore be used to exercise power and control in a variety of social situations (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p.258).

The social element of discourse and the instrumentalist perspective that we can extrapolate from the CDA approach allow the observer to read discourse as a structurational tool that can be used to bridge the gap between agent- or actor-based and structuralist theories of organizational studies

(Heracleous & Hendry, 2000). In other words, discourse analysis enables the observer to understand how agents even in a constrained organizational environment may still be able to achieve specific objectives through a variety of communicative acts such as writing, conversation, argument or storytelling. Alvesson & Kärreman's 'take' on the approach to discourse analysis taken by Potter (1997, p.146) succinctly summarises this:

“Analysis of discourse becomes analysis of what people do with language in specific social settings” (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000[1], p. 1127).

Discourse consists of compounded textual and communicative artefacts. Although some observers restrict their definition of these artefacts to include only talk or the written word, we have extended it to regard 'texts' as comprising written texts, spoken words, pictures and symbols and multi-media texts of television and the Internet (Grant et al., 1998; Fairclough, 2005). The advantage of this broad definition allows for a comprehensive analysis of the object or concept being studied and how it is brought into being by the discourse. For the analysis of a physical, highly visual art form such as dance the use of images as well as words is also an appropriate means to examine discourses associated with it.

4.7 Critical Discourse Analysis

From roots in the 'negative tradition, most prominently espoused by Plato, Belfiore and Bennett (2007, p.141-143) argue that the arts have performed several functions in society over the course of nearly three millennia. As a consequence, numerous discourses have become associated with these different views, extending from a cathartic one, i.e. an expurgatory or cleansing view of the arts; one that considers personal well-being as a primary function to the views that tend to prevail in modern thinking about the arts, i.e. that they are a source of education and self-development; a means to civilize and positively influence morals as well as a means to stratify audiences and populations in terms of social class.

However, the recognition that some forms of cultural activity could be used for overtly political ends became, as Bennett (1995, 1996, 1997)

contends, apparent during the 19th century when the ‘governmentalisation of social relations’ emerged as a distinct form of discourse for the control of populations. This trend was evident throughout the 20th century with notable examples including the harnessing of cultural symbolism and rhetoric by the Fascist regimes in Italy and Germany in the period leading up to the Second World War.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) lends itself to the analysis of pedagogic texts such as policy documents, because it recognises that economic and technological influences are not the only factors that affect social relations, but that extant cultural and institutional aspects play a significant role as well. Earlier emphasis on the aesthetic, historical and philological has given way to a perspective that culture reflects both the social structures of the moment as well as those forces that may undermine those structures, a view first espoused by thinkers of the Frankfurt School of Philosophy including Theodor Adorno and more recently, Jürgen Habermas (Fairclough & Wodak [cited in van Dijk, 1997, p.261]).

Methodologically CDA can be problematic where it is loosely combined with other methods such as grounded theory and simply used as a means to study texts in a variety of circumstances without paying sufficient attention to the reflexivity of the researcher’s interpretation of what constitutes the context and secondly, how the text and context are linked. Unlike the application of discourse analysis in linguistics, CDA relies on context to evaluate how:

“...knowledge, subjects and power relations are produced, reproduced and transformed within discourse and [how it] is operationalized through a variety of methods to analyse texts in context” (Leitch & Palmer, 2009, p. 1194-95).

However, the use of critical discourse analysis as a methodology in organization studies has several precedents including its use in relation to professional and organizational identity, workplace control and resistance, mergers and acquisitions, industrial disputes, strategic sensemaking, and institutional logics (JoM Studies, 2010, p.1193). A methodological precedent exists in the example of O’Reilly and Reed’s (2011, p.1079) use of CDA to develop an analysis of the key aspects of three discourses and to contextualise

those discourses through a critical reading of relevant government policy documents. Similarly we show how policy texts in both the UK and Germany play an important role in legitimating new or alternative discourses in order to effect policy change using the work of Motion & Leitch, 2009 and Brown et al., 2012. Policy texts also offer a:

“...univocal account[s] of complex issues and opinions together with specific, targeted recommendations that allow little scope for disagreement” (Brown et al., 2012, p.301).

Furthermore, in accordance with numerous other examples of research focused on discourse analysis of a specific text such as a policy-oriented report:

“...we regard the Report as the product of specific authorial strategies which present an (not the) understanding of issues and themes under investigation” (Brown et al., 2012, p.302)¹⁸.

The repeated use of certain ‘key’ themes and the association of words with these themes in specific contexts represents a form of resource control, in that an alternative perspective is portrayed as inferior. Thus, Motion and Leitch describe how the term ‘biotechnology’ became the focal point for discourses to legitimate research into and commercialisation of genetically modified organisms in New Zealand (2009, p.1049). Conversely Brown et al. (2012, p.314) show how a report on care for the aged, young and disabled sought to promote a case for age-appropriate care to justify a separation between the young and elderly. In these cases the use of language is seen as constructive rather than reflective and has a distinct purpose or function. The objective therefore of this exercise is to understand how the text serves the interests of the different stakeholders and in particular those of the government and the bodies that represent it such as funding agencies (Dick, 2004).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been applied to the examination of the main corpus of texts comprising government policy documents and related texts by agents and organizations involved in the dance sectors in both the UK and Germany. These texts comprise media articles, information displayed on web sites and contextual documents such as overviews or

¹⁸ References R. Edmondson (1984): *Rhetoric in sociology* (London, Macmillan) and Nelson, J.S., Megill, A. & McCloskey, D.N. (1987): *Rhetoric of inquiry* (pp.3-18) in *The rhetoric of the human sciences: Language and argument in scholarship and public affairs* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press).

histories of particular organizations that describe the origins or background of those organizations.

The aim of the documentary analysis is to identify key discursive themes that are well recognised and understood and that appear consistently in various exegeses of the creative industries. These themes are then examined in the context of dance organizations that are subject to the implications of these themes, particularly where these organizations and their members are dependent on public subsidies and required to demonstrate or operationalize public policy on dance that reflects an extrinsic 'social market' logic combining market dynamics with public service ideals, as opposed to one emphasising aesthetic-artistic creativity. Underlying this exercise is the perspective that organizational logics will be affected by the changes and that conflicts in the extant and imposed market logic may result in conflicts, which the organization needs to respond to.

The form of critical discourse analysis chosen for evaluating the two main policy texts reflects Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional framework in which discourse is analysed firstly as text, secondly as discursive practice and thirdly as social practice. Thus, in analysing the text the researcher is trying to discover what the purpose of the text is. Is it attempting to assert, persuade, justify, accuse, defend or explain? (Dick, 2004). Thus, there is an intentional or unintentional effect implied by the use of the text. This is exemplified by Brown et al.'s (2012) contribution on the ability of text, in their example, a care policy report, to carry out institutional work by deploying a variety of rhetorical strategies to perform the tasks described by Dick above. The use of logical, ethical and emotional rhetoric to persuade readers of the text of the need for change is thus a powerful one as its purpose can be adapted according to the specific type of reader being addressed. Thus, the likelihood of the text instigating change is enhanced.

Discursive practice on the other hand is cognisant of the context in which the text is produced, i.e. who the parties are that are involved in its generation and what implications this has for the interpretation of the text. Clearly, the relative power and forms of legitimacy that each party has at its disposal are material in shaping the practices adopted.

Social practice as the third element is based on the quest for dominance amongst competing discourses. This element is particularly interesting in

policy texts as it can be used to identify which aspects of a policy are particularly favoured or prioritised and how arguments are used in support of them.

The choice of CDA as the main analytical tool for this work is therefore grounded in the fact that language can be regarded as a very significant instrument in the formulation, dissemination and implementation of public policy. The acknowledgement that language use is a social practice means that texts can have a function beyond the informative as already indicated earlier in section 4.6. Brown et al. (2012) and Motion & Leitch (2009) have also argued that policy texts and the strategies used to promulgate them are important in achieving consensus for changes to previously fixed institutional logics. Consequently, CDA lends itself to this research for three main reasons:

Firstly, the version of social reality generated by the policy text discourses challenges the ostensibly realist stance adopted by governmental bodies with their claims to neutrality and objectivity, by revealing underlying alternative cultural agendas. The claims to legitimacy for these agendas are established through the use of a variety of textual devices, e.g. 'key' words and phrases, rhetorical strategies emphasising ethical and emotional arguments as well as logical ones. These devices and strategies reveal the purpose of the text in the form of a documented discourse.

Secondly, the importance of funding, and the competition for it, particularly in a subsidised environment such as the cultural sector, can have a pedagogic effect on dependent organizations as they attempt to comply with and simultaneously remain autonomous of the conditions attached to the funding. The Labour administration's social-market policy emphasis during its tenure between 1997 and 2010 was characterised by the rhetoric surrounding the 'Third Way' and its underlying notion that public services should be run as socially fair, but economically efficient markets in the context of increasingly neo-liberal attitudes towards all sectors of society (Neelands et al., 2006, p.99). Accordingly, the phenomenon of policy attachment as a means to justify support for the arts and culture resulted in the introduction of insurgent, extrinsic logics that challenged the inherently intrinsic notions of artistic legitimacy, identity and artistic practice that characterise artists and performers. In chapters Six (6) and Seven (7) we examine how cultural policy makers and dance practitioners prioritise and align themselves with policy discourse so as

to be seen to be compliant with the overarching objective of value-for-money for public sector spending.

Thirdly, critical discourse analysis is appropriate in situations where organizational change gives rise to tensions and conflicts that are disguised or sublimated by the use of discourse. The analysis of UK dance policy documents and how the hegemony of managerial and commercial interests is established and maintained through the use of discourse and its impact on dance sector organizations is compared to the observations that emerge through the analysis of German policy texts.

Overall the CDA method enables a detailed examination of public policy as a vehicle for circulating and legitimating power/knowledge and an analysis of the discursive resources deployed to support the policy formation process, its dissemination and ultimately its adoption by the beneficiaries of the policy.

4.8 Comparative Historical Analysis

As Skocpol and Somers observe in their seminal paper *The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry*:

“Comparative history is not new. As long as people have investigated social life, there has been recurrent fascination with juxtaposing historical patterns from two or more times or places” (1980, p.174).

Although most frequently applied to an examination of overarching societal themes such as revolution, political evolution and economic development, comparative research in its most simplistic definition is “...research that uses comparable data from at least two societies” (Ragin, 1987, pp.3-4). It can include cross-cultural as well as cross-national research, but also encompasses comparisons of historical periods, regions, communities, and institutional sectors¹⁹.

For the purposes of this research we adopt Amenta’s (2000, pp.93-94) definition of ‘comparative’ and ‘historical’ based on his studies of social policy development, which although grounded in efforts to further causal case-

¹⁹ Source: <http://www2.asanet.org/sectionchs/sectioninfo.html#bylaws>. [Accessed 1 May 2013].

oriented research are not limited methodologically to specific methods or choices of data.

Behind the method is a view that a comparison of historical contexts and trajectories provides a more distinct understanding of the similarities and differences and their causal origins between the countries, societies or social systems in question with regard to the responses to various phenomena such as the globalisation of business, its practice and the homogenisation of those practices across borders.

Recent decades have shown a growing interest in contextualising policy making as part of a broader environment of interests, temporal processes and institutional arrangements (Motion & Leitch, 2009; Hall, 1986; Steinmo et al., 1992). Applying a comparative-historical perspective requires an assessment of cultural, institutional as well as the sequencing and duration of key events. Moreover:

“The distinctive advantage of a historical approach to the understanding of the impacts of the arts is precisely that it brings to light the complex nature of the disquisitions that have taken place in the past around the arts and their effects” (Belfiore & Bennett, 2007, 139-140).

Comparative historical methods have been applied to social policy analysis to counter limited single-case examples or over-simplified causal analysis based on theoretical arguments citing modernization and industrialization as the primary drivers of social policy development (Amenta, 2000, p.100).

To take the specific example of a study of the impact of cultural policy on the dance sector in Germany and the UK and the nature of the responses in both countries our approach considers not only the political institutions and interested parties involved in the cultural policy making process in each country, but also looks at the type of governance, e.g. centralised versus federated, the historical trajectory of cultural politics in both countries as well as at the historical context of the artistic sector in question.

In the following sections we describe the underlying epistemological position that informs the main approaches to CHA and explain the rationale for the perspective adopted for the purposes of this research. In doing so we

highlight the main issues associated with the different approaches and discuss how we have addressed them in this thesis.

4.8.1 Comparing Qualitative and Quantitative Comparative Methods and Logics based on Epistemological Positioning

The deliberately open definition of comparative-historical research has allowed a wide variety of research specialisms and methodologies to emerge. The debate is essentially about a positivist and therefore predominantly quantitative perspective, concerned with generalisations based on relationships identified between a relevant set of variables, and a constructivist view of the world that adopts a more interpretive view of data based on the analysis of bounded environments and particular cases.

The first epistemological position takes for granted the ability of the researcher to divorce their analysis from the context in which the macro-social system operates and be able to reduce the influencing factors to a small, but collectively exhaustive and mutually exclusive number for whom data can be collected. Here the objective of the researcher is to identify universal characteristics or trends that are shared across macro-social systems, usually assumed to be countries, nation states or more generally, societies.

For those comparativists who favour the social constructivist approach the underlying assumption is one that assumes much of what is under investigation is dependent on the context in which it is situated and therefore implies that more than one interpretation of the observations is possible.

Two of the most important works that set out the two epistemological positions are Theda Skocpol and Margaret Somer's 'The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry Comparative Studies in Society and History' (1980) and Charles Ragin's 'The Comparative Method' (1987). In the case of the former, Skocpol & Somers (1980) argued that three main logics for comparing macro-social phenomena prevail. The first, the *parallel demonstration of theory* applies generalized theories to demonstrate the universality of certain trajectories using case studies. This logic implies that it is a characteristic of all works of parallel comparative history to generate hypotheses and theoretical frameworks and then apply them to specified case

examples. The advantage of this type of approach is visible in situations where multiple variables exist, but not enough cases with which to test the reliability and validity of proposed causal relationships. The method therefore allows for an iterative approach to refining theory and expectations in the light of the actual data gathered from the cases under investigation.

The second logic, *contrast of contexts*, bases the analysis on an idealised construct in order to highlight the unique features of a particular case or situation and the resulting path dependency of the trajectory through a historical analysis of each case. Although causal analysis techniques are applied, their nature is more one of inference such that the outcomes are subject likely to be more interpretive in nature than either the parallel demonstration of theory or Skocpol & Somers' third logic, *comparative history as macro-causal analysis*. This latter approach identifies causal factors using multi-variate analysis of large numbers of variables from multiple cases with the dual aims of producing generalizations based on statistical analysis whilst gathering an in-depth understanding of specific cases (Rihoux, 2006, p.680). In Skocpol's concluding essay to her 1984 edited volume 'Vision and Method in Historical Sociology' she expands on the thoughts of nine eminent historical sociologists and her own to present a more detailed evaluation of the three main approaches outlined in her and Somers' 1980 paper. In his review of the book Modell (1986) summarizes Skocpol's findings of the drawbacks of each method. For example, the generalized theory approach does not take sufficient account of true experience, whilst the second research logic, contrast of contexts, relies too heavily on interpretation raising questions about the best means to validate the findings from this form of research. Only the third method, emphasizing 'valid causal connections' appears to satisfy demands for validity across:

“...similar historical circumstances or else account in potentially generalizable terms for different outcomes across space and time in otherwise similar cases” (Skocpol, 1984, pp.375-376).

Ragin, adopts a quasi-positivist stance to present a 'synthetic' comparative strategy that purports to combine the strengths of both the case-oriented method with those of the multi-variate method through the application of a Boolean approach that:

“...provides a way to address large numbers of cases without forsaking complexity. It allows social scientists to be broad without forcing them to resort to vague and imprecise generalizations about structural relationships. [] the Boolean approach moves away from traditional case-oriented methods by focusing on large numbers of cases, but retains some of the logic of the case-oriented approach and thereby provides a link to historical interpretation” (Ragin, 1987, p.171).

For Ragin (1987, pp.83-84) a synthetic strategy should satisfy at least five criteria to be able to fulfil the expectations of researchers hoping to develop universalist theories. Firstly, the strategy must be able to deal with large numbers of cases; secondly, it must accommodate causal complexity by enabling an examination of different combinations of causal conditions. Thirdly, whilst being able to deal with causal complexity the strategy must nonetheless look to simplify that complexity as much as possible. Fourthly, the strategy should specify and define units of analysis and the social processes in such a manner that interpretation and insight is holistic and supports a macro-level interpretation of a phenomenon. Finally, the synthetic strategy should combine alternative, possible explanations for observations with a theory or set of theories that can be tested via the strategy.

Although more recently researchers like James Mahoney (2008, p.413; p.430) tend to refer to ‘population-oriented’ and ‘case-oriented’ research as terminological equivalents of Ragin’s ‘macro-social’ (variable) and ‘within-systems (case study) research the choice of terminology merely emphasises the various theoretical positions, methodological styles, and substantive topics that can be explored under the heading of comparative-historical analysis. Moreover, the diversity of methodological approaches and issues concerning determinacy raises questions about the validity and reliability of results from comparative-historical research and its contribution to the social sciences. Irrespective of the intention of the form of comparative analysis undertaken, researchers wishing to adopt a rigorous methodological approach require clarity on several aspects if the outcomes are to stand up to tests of validity and reliability.

Some researchers like Mahoney and Rueschemeyer (2003, p.6 (& p.10)) have consciously chosen to bound comparative historical analysis within the definition that research undertaken under this banner shares:

“...a concern with causal analysis, an emphasis on processes over time, and the use of systematic and contextualized comparison.”

This includes a multi-level perspective, i.e. macro-social or systems level and within-systems dimension to true comparative analysis. Thus, comparative analysis should also typically encompass event-based analysis, examining events (e.g. revolutions), phenomena (e.g. emergence of political regimes) and processes (e.g. development of welfare states) and their contributing factors such as culture and institutional development over time. An obvious instance of a macro-social system or unit often used as the overarching basis for comparison is that of society. A within-systems analysis might therefore examine the strength and nature of certain relationships, outcomes or processes over time influencing the realisation of a particular systems-level, i.e. societal phenomenon.

Taking each in turn we illustrate the issues associated with CHA and discuss briefly examples of integrative approaches developed over recent years that are designed to address these concerns in the following section.

4.8.2 Causal Analysis

As Ragin (1987, p.19) observes “Social phenomena are complex”. According to him causal analysis faces two main issues in attempting to produce valid and reliable results. The first stems from the difficulty of identifying the most suitable types of cases for a particular area of research. In other words the boundaries and scope of a case must be described in such a way that they allow for comparable analysis across multiple macro-social systems. The other concerns assessing outcomes that may be the result of different, multiple combinations of causes. The difficulty therefore lies in identifying the set of primary causes responsible for the outcome (Ragin, 1987, p.20).

In recent years significant work has been conducted to develop suitable tools and methods to allay the concerns about causal complexity. This is particularly the case for differentiating between the objectives of so-called case- and population-oriented research and the necessity and sufficiency of causes to explain an outcome. Examples of methods include Boolean algebra, typological theory, set theory and calculus (Mahoney, 2004).

For researchers favouring case-oriented research, which is intended to combine historical interpretation with causal analysis, in order to produce some limited degree of generalization there are two methods available to establish causation, namely Mill's method of agreement and Mills's indirect method of difference. The first method seeks to identify a single causal condition or combination of conditions that constitute a particular circumstance and that always appear to precede a given event or phenomenon. The second main method Mills proposed, the indirect method of difference, is according to Ragin, "...a double application of the method of agreement" (Ragin, 1987, p.39). In other words the researcher first looks for circumstances where effect A has a cause B for those circumstances. He or she then looks for circumstances where effect A is absent and also the cause B is absent. If this is the case then it can be assumed that B is the cause of A.

In the case of the variable-oriented method for conducting comparative research the main difficulty arises from the dependence on statistical control as opposed to experimental control techniques for establishing causation. This is due to the inherent complexity of social phenomena and the difficulty of comparing phenomena across different systems or societies, which is a distinguishing characteristic of historical comparative analysis. Consequently users of statistical techniques in comparative analysis need to recognise that a significant degree of simplification is necessary for generalizing statements to be made about the effect of the variables under investigation.

4.8.3 Unit of analysis

For comparative-historical researchers the unit of analysis gives rise to ambiguous interpretations due to the fact that data is collected at one level, i.e. at the case or within-systems' level whilst interpretation of the data as a means

to explain a broader phenomenon occurs at another, e.g. macro level. Ragin (1987, p.8-9) distinguishes between an observational unit of analysis that refers to the unit of data collection and that of an explanatory or theoretical unit of analysis. Bendix challenges such systems' analysis on the basis that it exaggerates the homogeneity of underlying structures and processes and leads to overgeneralization, arguing instead that the most appropriate units of analysis are social groups and organizations within a society (Rueschemeyer, pp.135-136). An analysis of the interrelations among groups, organizations and institutions serves to at least qualify the standardizing assumptions of overarching generalizing theories. This is the perspective taken in this thesis, whereby the social groups and organizations comprise specifically dance companies, individual choreographer-dancers and institutional representatives of policy making bodies who all operate within the dance fields in the UK and Germany.

4.8.4 Context and Cultural factors

In their assessments of the comparability of international management systems and how to overcome some of the limitations of current frameworks both Redding (2005) and Pudelko (2007), describe context as a key factor. For example:

“The term “context” includes both cultural and institutional factors, and the main focus is put on the question of whether management theories and practices have universal applicability or if they are limited in application to a particular country or region” (Pudelko (2007, p.15).

For generalist research the underlying assumption is one of rationalism in economic, technological and institutional terms. Institutional change as a co-ordination mechanism that has an explicit role in generating and sustaining stability is the view taken by rational institutionalists, whereas institutions emerging over time as a result of temporal sequences is the standpoint that underpins the historical institutionalists' approach.

For historical institutionalists like Theda Skocpol four kinds of process form the basis for analysis:

“One, the establishment and transformations of state and party organizations through which politicians pursue policy initiatives. Two, the effects of political institutions and procedures as well as social changes and institutions on the identities, goals, and capacities of social groups that become involved in politics. Three, the fit or lack thereof between the goals and capacities of various politically active groups and the historically changing points of access and leverage allowed by a nation's political institutions. And four, the ways in which previously established social policies affect subsequent policies over time” (Skocpol, 1995, p.105).

Insights based on understanding differences as well as similarities between macro systems have led to a variety of research strands, e.g. convergence versus divergence or universalism versus particularism, and are based on the degree to which cultural and institutional contexts are regarded as determinant factors. Convergence and divergence refer to the changes over time or the effect of historical processes whereas culture influences the causes of change (Pudelko, 2007).

In Pudelko's view researchers who are adherents of the particularist approach consider context-specific research, i.e. research that emphasises differences or divergence in international business management systems due to national culture and institutional environments, as key elements in the explanation of phenomena such as variations in business practices and models (Pudelko, 2007, p.16). Redding (2005, p.126) elaborates on the term 'context' in his review of its importance in building theory and methodological approach, referring to the work of Child (2000), as cited in Redding, 2005, p.126, who makes a distinction between so-called high- and low-context approaches. High-context approaches include cultural theory, cultural information theory, and institutional theory. Low-context examples are economic universalism, technology-based theory, and psychological universalism/methodological individualism. This perspective is more likely to be accepted by comparative historical researchers who aim for causal explanations, but do not subscribe to the highly universalistic insights sought by rational choice theorists. Although the former resist:

“...too easy invocations of cultural factors in explaining macrosoical development, virtually all see cultural analysis as important in

identifying the character of the social and political structure and developments they study” (Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003, p.23).

Conversely, a high-context research approach, which we have adopted as part of our overall research design, typically involves greater sensitivity to historical chronology, is more likely to be interpretive and will be more focused on the particularities of specific cases, i.e. it less likely to attempt to create macro-social generalizations from a multi-variate approach based on a positivist stance. The high-context approach is therefore likely to be applied to a research strategy such as the *parallel demonstration of theory* or the *contrast of contexts* and therefore makes it appropriate for the analysis presented in this dissertation. In this type of analysis the interpretation of behaviours and their meaning can be seen as the primary goal of the research or for post-modern theorists the objective is to critique the unequal power relations that are assumed to lie at the heart of social practice (Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003, p.22-23). We combine both forms through the application of CDA as the primary method of analysis.

4.8.5 Path dependence

Path dependence recognises the reinforcing effect of external influences on a system. It acknowledges cultural and cognitive explanations and the sharing of meaning and therefore is likely to entail a more narrative approach to the analysis. It is a view adopted by researchers who require a more comprehensive understanding of events by arguing that the temporal nature and sequencing of events plays a role in the subsequent development of macro-systems.

One of the most notable forms of comparative historical research to emerge in recent decades is historical institutionalism, which tracks and compares the changes over time in institutional arrangements as an important contributing factor to wider changes in macro-social level phenomena such as class structures or changes in political regimes. The arguments that characterise this research can be broadly separated into two strands, i.e. constant-cause and

path-dependence²⁰. Although we do not consider directly the evolution of political institutions in the scope of this research, we do examine the contingent effect of historical and political changes to the role of institutions responsible for cultural policy making and implementation, such as the UK's Arts Council England (ACE). Thus, we draw on functional, utilitarian, political and cultural arguments to inform a path-dependent perspective on the development, articulation and dissemination of cultural policy that resembles what Thelen (2003) terms 'institutional conversion' or the redirection of objectives. Policy attachment is the most relevant example of this in the cultural fields of both the UK and Germany.

Although Mahoney (2004) describes how a path-dependent analysis may require the specific application of methods including counter-factual analysis and non-linear pattern analysis as well as deploying tools for conducting temporal analysis that include process analysis and sequence and duration arguments, we have chosen to adopt a broad definition of path dependence based on Sewell's idea that:

“...what has happened at an earlier point in time will affect the possible outcomes of a sequence of events occurring at a later point in time” (Sewell, 1996, pp.262-263, [cited in Thelen, 2003, p. 218]).

This is in accordance with the main historicist-interpretive approach to policy analysis undertaken in Chapter 6 of this dissertation and with the rationale of the 'contrast of contexts' viewpoint.

4.9 Bourdieu's Methods

Alvesson & Kärreman (2000[1]; pp.1126-1127 & 1133-1134) assert that discourse can be used to have a determinant effect on social reality and impact power/knowledge relations at different levels (e.g. individual, organizational, institutional and field). However, they acknowledge a difficulty that arises methodologically in extrapolating the material collected in site-

²⁰ Constant-cause explanations suggest that the same factors, whether functional, political or cultural, typify the origins, persistence and changes over time of the institution. Path-dependent explanations suggest that change may be due to factors different to those that account for the genesis of the institution (Thelen, in Mahoney & Rueschemeyer (eds), 2003, p.214).

specific interviews, from archival analysis, or as part of observational sessions etc. to a higher level and justifying the construction of a broader set of discursive interpretations about the nature of the impact of the constructed discourse on an entire field. The depiction of social reality depends on both the observer and the observed in that each is subject to influences that affect the interpretation of events, which may not be apparent during the data gathering or analysis phase of the research.

Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' can assist in bridging this methodological gap. Habitus is:

"...a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions..." (Bourdieu, 1971, [cited in Swartz, 1997, p.100]).

Habitus is a form of cultural practice that incorporates a sense of agency, unlike other definitions of cultural practice (Swartz, p.115). This conceptualisation of the diverse factors that affect social structure and change can assist us in addressing the concerns of comparative historical researchers like Bendix who rejects 'monocausal determinisms' and arguments of material self-interest as the main incentives for action by organizations or individuals. For Bendix 'legitimation ideologies of dominant classes' as well as inequalities in availability of and access to economic resources, status and power influence patterns of social interaction and change (Rueschemeyer, 1984, p.137-138). Similarly, in Ellen Trimberger's assessment of E.P. Thompson's concept of 'social being'²¹ and the influence that experience has on mediating social being, she observes that:

"Experience is both structured and determining, but also shaped by human intervention:"

and that

"...the new consciousness that arises out of new experience is shaped by human beings partly through their old consciousness – the cultural standards and values shaped by past experience. People may retain

²¹ The determinate relationships between human beings in material life. Source: Trimberger, 1984, p.219 in *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology*, (ed) Theda Skocpol.

attachments to values and customs even as the economy is changing”
(Trimberger, 1984, p.220).

In Alvesson’s (1994) ethnographic study of an advertising agency he combines the analysis of discourses generated in interviews with Bourdieu’s concept of habitus (and Asplund’s concept of discourse, conceptual figures (e.g. the individual) and base (material structure and social practices)) to:

“...to illuminate the way in which discourse (primarily talk) is tactically and strategically used. It throws light on the level of discourse and encourages a deeper understanding of how language functions in cultural-political contexts” (Alvesson, 1994, p.540).

Thus, we obtain a way of comparing and contrasting the texts generated at an institutional level (i.e. policy documents and reports) with those that have been generated at organizational and individual levels (as interviews, journal articles and on-line contributions). The concept of habitus, when applied to dance practitioners and the contemporary dance sector, can therefore be used to contextualise their responses to policy discourse in terms that inform our understanding better of e.g. identity and notions of artistic practice as well as enabling us to decipher:

“...the key to the cultural codes of professionalism and authority”
(Alvesson, 1994, p.539).

The intentionally heuristic method applied to the texts also requires consideration of the role of the observer/researcher/interpreter in the qualitative analysis. Again, Bourdieu provides an approach that establishes a basis for acknowledging the researcher’s own ‘habitus’ and creating a basis for objectivity. This incorporates a critical reflection on one’s own social and educational background throughout the analysis, or as Bourdieu terms it “provoked and accompanied self-analysis” (Hamel, 1998, p.8). Bourdieu recognises several types of reflexivity, but his own version is particularly conscious of the competition and power conditions that are likely to influence the:

“...complex relationship between processes of knowledge production and the various contexts of such processes as well as the involvement of the knowledge producer” (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2000, p.5).

Finally, Bourdieu’s focus on power relations and how these are invoked through the use of capital (or resources) and dispositional expressions of identity and legitimacy (i.e. habitus) amongst field participants allows us to adapt Fairclough’s analytical CDA methodology regarding social practice. In other words we are able to effectively pre-populate the discursive analysis of the responses to policy texts with extant knowledge and understanding of the habitus of the practitioners involved in the process. This also helps to mitigate the lack of direct empirical data in the form of interviews with dance practitioners. Thus, whilst Fairclough provides us with the means to argue how the policy texts are being used to assert, persuade or legitimate, Bourdieu furnishes us with the means to interpret the responses to these efforts and identify areas of conflict and resistance to the discourses embedded in the texts.

Embracing Bourdieu’s theories in this way also allows us to focus on social relations and practices (rather than pre-supposed structures) that exist in the dance field and how various discursive resources at the disposal of organizations, actors and institutions are harnessed in the interests of promoting and maintaining existing or new logics. This subtle exercise of power or control to effect change or compliance with organizational change:

“...need not involve coercion or conflict but may involve reconfiguring positional and organizational identities, vocabularies and values” (Oakes et al., 1998, p.271).

More specifically, texts, which comprise visual, spoken and multi-semiotic forms, can be regarded as resources to reinforce, manipulate or modify existing social practices when applied to particular permanences, or forms of realist structure. The resulting changes to relationships can give rise to tensions when particular actions, processes or events occur or are imposed on the structure (Fairclough, 2005, p.923; Phillips et al., 2008. p.772). In doing so the manner in which texts are deployed can give rise to implicit struggles for

power or legitimacy for the claims made in the texts in order to maintain or change the status quo.

4.10 Sensegiving and Sensemaking

Sensegiving and sensemaking are both inventive processes, the difference being that sensegiving attempts to influence the perceptions others experience of social or organizational reality (Maitlis, 2007, p.57) whilst sensemaking occurs in organizations when members confront events, issues, and actions that are somehow surprising or confusing (Gioia & Thomas, 1996; Weick, 1993, 1995):

“The basic idea of sensemaking is that reality is an ongoing accomplishment that emerges from efforts to create order and make retrospective sense of what occurs” (Weick, 1993, p.635).

“Thus, sensemaking is a process of social construction (Berger & Luckmann, 1967) in which individuals attempt to interpret and explain sets of cues from their environments” (Maitlis, 2005, p.21).

Both concepts are useful tools for qualitative research of the type used in this thesis as they can accommodate stimuli from numerous sources (e.g. narratives, symbols, meetings) to enable the researcher to piece together meanings from changes to social processes and environments. It is the inherent process-oriented nature of sensegiving and sensemaking that makes them a suitable tool for tracing the course of events in an organization. In the case of the comparative-historical approach used in this thesis, the processual, retrospective nature of the study of cultural and dance history in the UK and Germany is a source of sensegiving (by policymakers) and of sensemaking (dance practitioners). We use this insight to understand how cultural and political events have contributed to the practices of dance organizations and actors today. Although we consider sensegiving in terms of the role that policy texts play in effecting institutional change, our main focus in this thesis is on the use of sensemaking and how it manifests itself at actor level. In Weick’s (1995, p.13) words:

“The concept of sensemaking highlights the action, activity, and creating that lays down the traces that are interpreted and then reinterpreted.”

Weick (1995) differentiates between sensemaking and interpretation in that the former is primarily about invention, whilst the latter is more concerned with the discovery of something that was there all the time, but requires discovery. More specifically he suggests that:

“...sensemaking is about such things as placement of items into frameworks, comprehending, redressing surprise, constructing meaning, interacting in pursuit of mutual understanding, and patterning” (Weick, 1995, p.6).

The intentionally overt application of the concept of sensemaking to examine institutional logics is intended to create a link between the realist use of logics in much of the institutional literature on the topic to describe organizational reality and the individual exercise of those logics from a social constructionist perspective. The realist perspective emphasises rational choice and presumes that individuals or actors can make fully informed, objective choices whereas the cognitive perspective recognises limits to the availability and completeness of the information on which those choices are based:

“...behave expediently to pursue their preferences within a situation...”, “cognitive theorists emphasize the extent to which choice is informed and constrained by the ways in which knowledge is constructed. The social construction of reality is seen as ongoing, continuously, at macro-, meso- and micro-levels” (Scott, 1995, pp.50-51).

The notion of sensemaking as invention is also useful in distinguishing between interpretation and meaning or significance imposed by sensegivers, such as cultural policy makers, who tend to be at a distance from those affected by the impact of policy implementation and who have potentially different objectives from those stated in the policy texts. Whereas ‘interpretation’ can only describe in abstract terms a link between a policy text and the outcomes of its implementation, sensemaking is a process that offers an alternative view on

how the dissemination of the policy is actually experienced by protagonists (Weick 1995).

4.11 Data Elements

Central to the analysis is the definition of the term (contemporary) dance ‘field. Although Bourdieu’s own definition of the term ‘field’ did undergo changes over time and has been subject to criticism for its ‘discrepant usage’, most observers agree on the value of the concept, referring to, e.g. its use as a heuristic device and its contribution in addressing the structure-agency problem (Warde, 2004, pp.12-13).

We adopt the definition for field used by Bourdieu in the *Rules of Arts* in which he states that:

“A field is a relatively autonomous structures domain or space, which has been socially instituted, thus having a definable but contingent history of development. One condition of the emergence of a field is that agents recognise and refer to its history. Some fields have more autonomy than others and some parts of fields more than other parts” (Bourdieu, 1996/1992).

The dance sectors in both the UK and Germany satisfy these criteria in that we describe their evolution throughout the 19th century until the present day and demonstrate that participants make continual reference to the history of the fields and their context in both countries in the various discursive strategies they employ to legitimate their positions in those fields.

The central elements in each field that were explored comprised discourses used by both policy makers and dance practitioners to assert, persuade or legitimate their respective courses of action, the pedagogic practices applied to effect compliance and the conflict narratives resulting from perceived threats to existing logics of practice and notions of autonomous practice within the dance field.

4.12 Data Sources

Given the lack of empirical interview data from the case organizations we chose to adopt the definition of ‘text’ as a ‘communicative event’ as suggested by Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981 [cited in Titscher et al., 2000]. This justified the use of a wide range of contextual texts such as blogs, web site publications, press commentary and press releases, academic material reports and on-line interviews and commentaries as the main source of discursive material.

The texts were selected on the basis of their ability to give contextual and historical background, e.g. government reports and manifestos, funding guidelines, proposals and plans related to dance initiatives, academic and practitioner publications documenting the history and trajectory of key organizations and institutions in the dance field in both countries. Texts were also selected on the basis of being able to yield or reinforce thematic discourses detected in core ‘reference’ texts. Thus direct responses to or commentaries on the publication of policy-related texts such as the 2011 Tanzplan Deutschland-Abschlussdokument [8] or the UK House of Commons Select Committee’s 2004 Report Arts Development: Dance (HC 587-I) were identified and recorded from multiple media sources. Emphasis was placed on identifying texts generated by agents and organizations with a stake in the outcomes of the policy reports and initiatives. Some sources were therefore selected as being more relevant for a particular bias or point of view or as being most representative of a particular group of stakeholders, e.g. Foundation of Community Dance representing the Community Dance sector in the UK as a whole.

4.13 Data Treatment

The analysis adopted a two-fold approach. Firstly core policy texts were chosen and examined to identify and document dominant themes, logics and discourses relating to the dance sectors in the UK and Germany. The historical narrative describing the evolution of the dance sectors in each country and the cultural-political environments in which the sectors and their main institutions exist today was used to inform the micro-discursive analysis

of the policy texts and responses to them. Thus we combined a micro- and macro-approach to the text analysis to situate the interpretations of policy and case data in a broader historical context.

Secondly, critical discourse analysis was used to move beyond the objective descriptions of action or statements in the official texts to identify hidden meanings and specify what claims underpinned the official rhetoric and what strategies were used to elicit compliant responses from other stakeholders in the field. These responses were then categorised and allocated to the themes identified in the core text analysis and examined for evidence of compliance or resistance and how these responses were articulated. Although the analysis is presented as a subjective comparison of the situation in both the UK and Germany, the comparative approach to the data analysis at both institutional and organizational/practitioner level and the range of sources selected ensures that reasonable steps were taken to provide the reader with sufficient material to evaluate the validity of the work (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000).

4.14 Validity

Discourse Analysis as an interpretive epistemology requires a critical, self-aware approach to the analysis of the texts and any conclusions that are drawn from them. However, in accordance with Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000, p.207) there is:

“...no strong, constructive reason for distancing ourselves altogether from interpreting meaning in utterances – meanings which go beyond the utterances themselves and their microcontext.”

They argue in favour of the ability of language to convey meaning and insight, albeit tempered by a pragmatic attitude towards its ability to clarify or explain.

Although realist concepts of validity and reliability rely on a premise of objectivity that is rejected by discourse analysts, researchers have come up with alternative ‘interpretive validity’ dimensions with which to assess the integrity of a discourse analysis²². Our analysis used comparative analysis of key texts to enable the reader to assess the validity of interpreted meaning

²² See Potter (1996) cited Gill (2000).

within a single field, namely the contemporary dance sector, using a small, but distinct set of case examples.

The ideological nature of the policy texts could have been seen to invalidate the information contained in the texts. However, any bias in the text was already apparent as a result of the preceding historical and political analysis of cultural policy in the UK and Germany. Moreover, the ideological bias in the texts was itself subject to inquiry as part of the analytical process of identifying logics and discourses.

Although the case analysis represents a subjective interpretation of the operationalisation of the policy discourses, it is intended only as an exploratory analysis that highlights particular aspects of cultural policy making and its impact in specific contexts. Moreover, the application of Bourdieu's concept of practice within the institutional logics framework proposed by Thornton et al. (2012) provides a means to explore how actors and organizations draw on existing constructs and resources (e.g. habitus and capital) to make sense of events. This in turn supports the validation of insights and interpretations drawn from texts made in response to policy discourses and why they may be appropriating, resisting or complying with those discourses.

Whilst the analysis does not claim to present a causal analysis of the impact of insurgent logics and policy discourse on the legitimacy, identity and practice of dance organizations, the combined historical-comparative and case analysis does provide the means to link historically contingent policy decisions to the sensemaking and interpretations amongst practitioners that emerge.

4.15 The Cases

Four case examples were selected to exemplify the effects of policy implementation on legitimacy, identity and practice in the contemporary dance fields in the UK and Germany. Implicit in this examination is an assessment of the implications for the artistic practices, identity and power of dance artists and dance organizations resulting from the operationalisation of dance policy.

The UK examples of The Place and Dance Umbrella are illustrative of the way in which the sector is structured and operates in the UK. The first UK example describes the origins and development of the Dance Umbrella festival.

Dance Umbrella was founded in 1978 with the aim of reflecting and encouraging the burgeoning interest in contemporary dance in Britain. Although initially focused on British dancers, something partly stipulated by the terms of its funding, the festival had always tried to encourage a diversity of programming and brought in artists from the US for the very first festival.

Today the festival focuses on staging the work of UK and international choreographers and existing dance companies, reserving commissions for British companies. Since its founding the purpose and worth of the Festival has been continuously questioned by the institutions responsible for cultural policy making and the funding of dance in the UK, such as the ACE and its predecessors. Combining a retrospective view of the first 25 years of the Festival, the reflections concerning the future of the Festival at the time of the retirement of its inaugural artistic director, and the concerns for the future in the wake of the 2011 funding cuts we traced the evolution of discourses that revealed a persistent fundamental underlying tension between the Festival's avowed *raison d'être* to provide a platform for the art form contemporary dance and its choreographers and the need to accommodate cultural and political agendas that exploit dance's multi-disciplinary nature as a physical and social activity.

The discourses revealed how, in spite of an obvious tension between the artistic and extrinsic roles that the Festival performs, both roles were fulfilled as funding and support for the arts and dance grew during the 1990s and early 2000s. Only with the severe funding cuts of 2011 did we see the ongoing struggle to maintain the intrinsic nature of its identity and form of artistic practice prompt a renegotiation of its claims to legitimacy within the UK dance field. In the press reviews that accompanied this process we detected an ambivalent attitude towards the Festival's response (in the form of its 2012 programme). On the one hand we noted support for the Festival's need to refashion its purpose and differentiate itself from other contemporary dance platforms in London. On the other we identified a discourse that promoted a more populist tone and warned against a retreat into the abstract forms that dominated much of the contemporary dance scene in the early years of the Festival (Crompton, 2012).

The second case, The Place (Contemporary Dance Trust Ltd) is home to the London Contemporary Dance School and is the oldest and most

comprehensive contemporary dance organization in the UK. It consists of a performance theatre, studios, a school, research facilities and resident artists and companies based in facilities in Central London, near Euston railway station that is also home to the Richard Alston dance company. The venue hosts an extensive array of programmes and classes for both professional and amateur dancers as well as events aimed at supporting new work and artists. The case discussion depicted the struggle of a contemporary dance organization to establish itself as a legitimate representative and exponent of the dance form in the UK. In contrast to Dance Umbrella we have an organization with a multi-functional role that informs the discourses about identity and practice. Its location and physical presence are part of its identity discourse, but also reveal a tension concerning constraints that a close association with The Place as an institution may place on dance artists (Ashford, 2006).

In summary both Dance Umbrella and The Place are performer-led organizations that were founded with an underlying dominant logic of artistic excellence. Policy objectives relating to social inclusion and access were addressed in the discourses of both organizations, but did not overshadow the intrinsic rationale underpinning their existence. However, the actual practices that were adopted by both do imply a conflict with policy discourse, especially as the instrumental logics of value-for-money and social accessibility gained in prominence throughout the period of the Labour administration (1997-2010) and into the coalition Conservative-Liberal Democratic government that succeeded Labour in 2010.

In the case of Germany the main focus for the analysis was the Hochschulübergreifendes Zentrum Tanz (HZT), chosen as part of the overall Tanzplan initiative as a pilot project (Tanzplan-vor-Ort) and the freelance contemporary dance sector in Berlin. The HZT served as a representative site for an examination of the different logics emerging from the cultural and political intent of Tanzplan amongst Berlin's contemporary dance sector. Voices from the freelance scene provided a perspective on individual actor level perceptions of identity, legitimacy and practice affected by policy discourses whose intent was to serve wider institutional and political aims as we show in the discursive analysis of the policy texts in Chapter Six (6).

The first case, Inter-University Centre for Dance Berlin (Hochschulübergreifendes Zentrum Tanz (HZT)), traced the project from pilot project to institution and highlighted discourses that gave primacy to legitimacy and practice based on the intrinsic purpose and value of art. Only once the centre was operational and the HZT satisfied the rationale for its existence did we see the emergence of discourses that reflected a more instrumental purpose for the HZT as an institution. However, a conflict between policy and discourse as was the case in the UK examples was not apparent to the same extent. On the other hand, the discourses generated by the contemporary dance sector in Berlin suggested much more emphasis on maintaining the autonomy of independent artists from institutional pressures to conform to the extrinsic logics introduced through policy discourses on advocacy, sustainability and dance education.

4.16 Data Source Summary

A combined comparative-historical and case study strategy was chosen for the analysis. The methodological approach used to analyse the data collected for both was a qualitative one, using a modified form of critical discourse analysis. The data sources were all archival, principally because of reluctance by dance sector representatives to participate in interviews. Given the nature of the research questions, which are primarily cognitive and interpretive, a quantitative analysis method was not regarded as relevant. Furthermore, the research strategy and design is reflective of an exploratory rather than of an explanatory approach to addressing the research questions. Thus the two strategies are intended only to give insight into the real-life impact of cultural policy decisions in two distinct contemporary contexts; they are not intended to test hypotheses or to enable a generalisation of the observations.

Consequently we used qualitative data in the form of written texts that are informational, instructional and persuasive in nature and public dialogues that are transcriptions of spoken texts (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000, p.27). The categorisation of the texts mirrors the International Corpus of English for text categorisation and was adopted to ensure that a comprehensive set of texts was

used in the analysis. A summary of the sources of key policy-related texts and their responses for both the UK and German cases are summarised in table 4.2 below. The source of numerous documents and commentaries for the case examples were obtained directly from organizational web-sites: Dance Umbrella – www.danceumbrella.co.uk; The Place – www.theplace.org.uk; HZT, Berlin – www.hzt-berlin.de; Tanzbüro Berlin – www.tanzraumberlin.de. A complete set of references to data sources are listed in the bibliography.

Title	Category	Description	Country
House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee. Arts Development: Dance, Sixth Report of Session 2003-04, Volume 1	Informational	Government inquiry into the state of dance in the UK; commissioned in 2004	UK
Culture and Creativity: The Next Ten Years	Persuasive	Government green paper of proposals to support the arts and promote creative activity socially and economically	UK
MAPPING DANCE: Entrepreneurship and Professional Practice in Dance Higher Education	Informational	Describes the provision of dance practitioner training and preparation for a professional career in the dance sector.	UK
Dance Training and Accreditation Phase: Research Phase Report	Informational	Findings from the research phase of DTAP to map provision and identify gaps in training and accreditation in dance.	UK
Dance mapping: A window on dance 2004-2008	Persuasive	Research report commissioned by ACE into the status of work in the dance field	UK
Cultural Education in England, 2012 (DfEducation)	Persuasive	Report commissioned by DCMS into cultural education in England	UK
National Campaign for the Arts (NCA) & Dance UK, 2006. The Dance Manifesto	Persuasive	Joint dance sector document that states the priorities and ambitions for dance that the UK Government should support.	UK
www.tanzraumberlin.de	Informational/persuasive	On-line resource for the dance sector in Berlin (Jan 2008 to Mar 2013).	Germany
Tanzplan Abschlussdokument: Tanzplan Deutschland, eine Bilanz. 2011. http://www.tanzplan-deutschland.de/publikation.php	Informational/persuasive	Summary final report of the Tanzplan initiative and its achievements over the five-year lifespan of the initiative.	Germany
Ständige Konferenz Tanz, 2006 - 10 maxims of action	Instructional	10 point manifesto for the support of dance in Germany written by a lobby organization comprising German associations, organizations, institutions and personalities connected to dance	Germany
Kultur-Kompetenz-	Informational/	Special supplement to politik und	Germany

Title	Category	Description	Country
Bildung, 2008. Konzeption Kulturelle Bildung.	persuasive	kultur, 1-2/2008. Issue 14, a publication sponsored by the Federal Ministry for Education and Research	
www.tanznetz.de	Informational	On-line resource for the dance sector in Germany	Germany
www.dance-germany.org	Informational	On-line national resource for dance in Germany	Germany

Table 4.2 Overview and Categorisation of Key Policy Texts

The descriptive data used to conduct the comparative-historical analysis of cultural policy development in the UK and Germany described in Chapter Five (5) gave context to the subsequent analysis of policy texts and responses situated in the present. This analysis also enabled the identification of key determinants for the subsequent policy and practice analysis presented in Chapters Six (6) and Seven (7).

The lack of empirical data in the analysis is acknowledged as a gap as it weakens attempts to validate the interpreted findings from the CDA analysis of policy texts. However, this is partly mitigated by the three-pronged approach to the research design that positioned the primary discursive analysis between the (descriptive) historical comparison and the (descriptive and interpretive) case study examples. The application of a recognised CDA framework in the form of Fairclough's three-dimensional model also served to structure the interpretive analysis of the case examples.

4.17 Conclusions

The research strategy adopted an interpretive comparative-historical approach to the comparison of dance policy in the UK and Germany. The purpose of this combined strategy was firstly to highlight particular cultural-political features of each country and secondly to identify the similarities and differences in cultural policy and its trajectory in both countries (Bendix [cited in Skocpol (ed.), 1984, p.369-370]). This took into account historical roles played by the arts in each country and the underlying logics that informed attitudes towards the arts, the types of institutions involved in the development of cultural policy and their historical trajectories as a means to inform the nature of institutional arrangements in place in both countries today and an assessment of the artistic and social roles(s) played by dance.

The specific comparative-historical (CHA) research strategy applied to the analysis of cultural policy in the UK and Germany was the ‘contrast of contexts’, where historical processes and institutional arrangements provided the background for the assessment of the individual case studies, i.e. The Place and Dance Umbrella in the UK and the Berlin contemporary dance sector in Germany. Moreover through an examination of the institutional arrangements that have emerged over time the aim was to understand their role in the discourses used today by cultural policy makers to justify courses of action, including funding. The critical dialogue that the ‘*contrast of contexts*’ approach facilitated, enabled us to challenge generalizing tendencies and to understand the historical legacies that informed the multi-valent, complex responses to apparently similar political aims and measures. As Rueschemeyer observed in his assessment of the work of Bendix:

“Culture and social structure are the result of group conflicts however motivated; dual tendencies in social action and institutional forms are never completely resolved in one direction; historical legacies persist in social structure and culture; influences, dependencies, and interdependencies cut across political, cultural and economic boundaries; varying historical constellations engender ever-changing responses to apparently similar issues of social structure and process...” (Rueschemeyer, 1984, p.138).

For contemporary dance the role of political institutions in legitimating the genre and underscoring its identity as an art form or other form of social activity was important in that the choreographic purpose of a contemporary performance is frequently not to entertain or create an aesthetic experience, but rather to stimulate the audience to engage with, e.g. real-world issues and matters of social relevance (Kolb, 2011, p.xv). The overarching objective of the comparative study was therefore to understand why superficially similar cultural policy objectives have resulted in different outcomes in two example countries, namely the UK and Germany.

The scope of the research adopted both an organizational and an individual or actor perspective. At an organizational level the positioning and characteristics of different types of organizations in the cultural field of contemporary dance were examined in order to explore how cultural policy is

reflected in the organization in terms of its implementation through use of different forms of, in Bourdieu's sense, capital.

The ultimate intent of the research was to gain insight into the extant power relations that exist between participants in the dance field and how those relations are enacted through the deployment of (Bourdieuian) capital²³ in order to exercise control through pedagogic practices or gain or reinforce rights to legitimacy using policy discourses in the contemporary dance field. At an actor level the question of interest was the extent to which actors operating in the environment of a dance organization made sense of the effect of those power relations on his or her or own situation in terms of individual practice, and identity.

Methodologically the research design looked to the use of language and how it was applied to construct discourses that enabled actors and institutions to justify the courses of action they took with regard to policy deployment. The study consisted of both a cross-sectional study of selected organizations and dance artists and a comparative study of the history of the development of contemporary dance in the UK relative to Germany.

The organizational study was based on case study methods, but these were modified to give in-depth illustrations of the discourses generated by policy makers and how they were mediated and operationalised within an organizational context, rather than to create detailed contextual analyses. Thus, the function of the case study was one of illumination and exploration, not explanation.

Overall the combination of comparative-historical analysis, historical institutionalism and CDA provided a comprehensive framework for conducting comparative policy studies that sought a grounded analysis of the context in which policy was articulated, disseminated and ultimately implemented in both the UK and German dance sectors. The framework and approach addressed issues with simplistic macro perspectives that tend to accommodate mainly economic, technological or societal factors to explain policy aims by examining the underlying potential of policy texts to illuminate the micro-level legitimization strategies deployed by protagonists. This also gave insight into the ultimate effectiveness of new or modified political propositions as a result of

²³ Capital can refer to financial, social resources to maintain, enhance or alter positions of influence and power in a field.

the cognisance taken of historically contingent factors such as culture and institutional structures in the relevant field.

CHAPTER FIVE DANCE IN THE CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN CULTURAL HISTORY

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we describe the historical trajectories of contemporary dance in the UK and Germany from the 19th century up to World War II. We distinguish between the pre-1997 period, which provides both historical background and context and the post-1997 era, up until May 2010, when the UK Labour Party was replaced after 13 years in government by a Conservative-led administration. The period between 1997 and 2010 forms the focus for the subsequent discursive analysis in Chapter Six (6) of UK and German government policy texts in the arena of contemporary dance, specifically because during that period a number of seminal dance policy initiatives were launched in both countries that were linked to distinct government objectives. In the UK these were part of the Labour Party's 'Third Way' ideology that attempted to combine commercial, market-oriented principles with social welfare policies, (also termed the social-market paradigm) (Neelands et al., 2006, pp.99-100) and included objectives in areas embracing health, sport and culture. In Germany a similar initiative to raise the profile of dance generally in relation to other art forms and to improve its infrastructure nationwide was launched under the auspices of Germany's Federal Cultural Foundation in 2005 as Tanzplan Deutschland (Dance Plan Germany).

In this chapter we show how the trajectory of dance and its representative institutions and the notions of legitimacy, identity and artistic practice that influence the dance field in both countries today have their origins in a contingent view of history, culture and politics in the UK and Germany.

5.2 A Historical Trajectory of Dance in Europe

Up until the late 19th century dance in Europe comprised two main genres, one an elite, classical form, ballet, which was performed in opera houses and by companies who formed part of an in-house ensemble and a second more popular form comprising regional characteristics in the form of

folk dancing. In France ballet enjoyed a particularly high status, with its origins dating back to the reign of Louis XIV. It was during his reign, for example, that the Paris Opera and its ballet were founded and attained a status that reflected its role as a symbol of elite French culture and identity. In the UK and Germany classical dance had a more ambiguous status, being performed in both opera houses and in theatres frequented by the lower social classes, where balletic dance was used mainly as an accompaniment to other theatrical performances.

Towards the end of the 19th century the growing populist demand for dance began to influence the techniques used by dancers. This was particularly true of ballet technique, which for so long had formed the basis of most formalistic dance forms. Productions began to emphasise the spectacle of the action on stage rather than the dancing and in America proponents of the theories of François Delsarte²⁴ were becoming popular. This era was characterised by collective forms of dance and an emphasis on narrative in support of the main stage action.

Lack of formal training was no barrier to experimentation with alternative forms of expression and in America in particular, a variety of performers, some with little or no formal training in dance, were beginning to experiment with new forms of movement. These included Loïe Fuller (following the idea of synaesthesia²⁵), Maud Allan, Ruth St. Denis and Isadora Duncan. All four were inspired in different ways to expand the range of dance and had some key, differentiating (i.e. from classical ballet) characteristics in common. For example, they all believed in the power of dance to express personal emotion rather than just represent a dramatic character's feelings and act as an aesthetic vehicle for more dominant art forms such as the theatre or opera and they refused to be constrained by the codes and structures that governed ballet. They all strove to find alternative forms to express

²⁴ The Frenchman François Delsarte laid stress on a connection between mental attitude and physical posture and discovered that one's emotional state is communicated through one's physical appearance. Eventually Delsarte codified his observations in a chart of gestures, which was used as a guide for expression and characterization by many amateur theatre companies in the middle years of the: Source: Encyclopaedia Britannica <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/156786/Francois-Delsarte>. [Accessed 6 December 2009].

²⁵ Synaesthesia is often described as a joining of the senses. Sensations in one modality (e.g. hearing) produce sensations in another modality (e.g. colour) as well as it's own. Synaesthetic experiences are often driven by symbolic rather than sensory representations, such as letters, numbers and words. It is also often experienced in the absence of external sensory input, such as one's "inner speech". Source: <http://www.uksynaesthesia.com/whatis.html>.

contemporary life in their dances; either in a very personal manner, relating their movements to their own feelings and experiences or by adopting a more abstract, experimental movement vocabulary.

What characterised all these new movement forms and differentiated them from classical ballet was the lack of structured movement techniques as well as the tendency to dispense with the narrative form used by ballet in order to explore concepts that encompassed a wide variety of themes including the body, culture, identity and even gender. These freer, more expressionistic forms of movement also put the individual choreographer-dancer at the centre of the performance.

The changes to dance culture throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries in Europe and America occurred in parallel to the rapid industrialisation of those regions. Whereas the early part of the 19th century saw the influence of romanticism on ballet in the refinement of its techniques and style, the political and technological changes in the latter part of the century led to a questioning of:

“...former stabilities in religion, politics, morality and social behaviour” (Brinson, 1991, p.12).

Moreover, the modernist and post-modernist trends that had come to dominate the arts in advanced industrialized countries also left their mark on dance. For example, post-1917 dancers stirred by the Russian revolution used choreography inspired by machines. The turmoil that enveloped Europe just before and after World War I caused many to seek meaning through the expressionist movement in art. As Brinson argues:

“Concerned with the impact of changes in external reality upon the inner reality of individuals, it endeavoured to express inner subjective life and feelings, inner reality, to an extent that external reality became distorted, suppressed and even unrecognisable. [...] Such an approach inspired much of the technique and many of the images of central European dance in the work of Laban, Jooss, Wigman, Kreutzberg and others” (Brinson, 1991, p.15).

At this juncture the trajectories of the modern dance movement throughout Europe began to diverge. Whereas the UK was from the outset heavily influenced by foreign dancers and companies, Germany developed its

own form of dance expression, first in the form of ‘Ausdruckstanz’ and then, after World War II as ‘Tanztheater’. France, in contrast to both, already had a rich dance heritage to draw on as a result of Louis XIV’s patronage of dance and continued to focus on nurturing a specifically domestic scene.

Cultural production generally was managed and exploited in all three countries in different ways, with clear break points occurring in Germany and France with the outbreak of World War II and in its aftermath a divergence of dance traditions. Cultural imperialism in the form of the Nazis’ preference for traditional, elite forms of art and culture with a Teutonic character left its mark in post-war Germany and resulted in an iconoclastic stance being adopted by many freelance dancers and choreographers in the West who favoured the more expressionistic form of Tanztheater. In the East the classical dance forms retained their status, but dispensed with the choreographies that had been created during the Nazi era and focused instead on the Russian repertoire. In the UK there was no equivalent event, rather a gradual absorption of influences from both mainland Europe and the U.S. in the post-war years, which culminated in the so-called British New Dance movement of the 1970s.

5.3 History of contemporary dance in the UK

Despite asking whether or not there was such a thing as a British dance culture Peter Brinson quickly pointed out that:

“Not for nothing were the English in Tudor times known throughout Europe as the dancing English. English men excelled especially in the leaps and athleticism of the galliard” (Brinson, 1991, p.5).

However, as was the case in France, where in the 17th century classical dance was the preserve of the nobility and patronised by the monarch, in England distinctions were made between the dances of the rich and those of the poor during this period.

Up until the early 1900s dance formed part of music hall or opera programmes and consisted mainly of brief ballets. This limited scope had its roots in the social distinctions made between the two main forms of theatre in the UK during the 19th century. From the middle of the 19th century onwards

theatre managers had begun to 'segregate' middle class theatregoers from the lower classes. The new theatres that were constructed from about the 1860s onwards were smaller, more comfortable than before and better suited for plays instead of larger scale performances. Music hall theatres on the other hand were designed for large, mostly working class audiences and it was in these establishments that dancing was more frequently to be seen. This physical and social segregation acted to reinforce the concept of high and low art and the resulting categorisation of cultural activity:

"This period saw the establishment of a new distinction between 'art' and 'entertainment', in which the former was elevated and the latter denigrated. Dance was firmly identified with the latter" (Siddall, (in Jasper & Siddall), 1999, p.7).

This perception of dance remained in force until the 1920s, when dance in the UK was finally legitimised as an art form. A cadre of high quality British ballet dancers were emerging and a dedicated audience for ballet was gradually established. Modern dance as a genre was almost invisible at this time and the best dancers tended to be foreigners, arriving with Diaghilev's Ballets Russes dance company. Their performances attracted wealthy, influential patrons and helped to raise gradually the status of ballet in the UK. Several dancers who had worked with Diaghilev went on to form their own companies, for example, Ninette De Valois and Marie Rambert and from the late 1920s onwards the work done by eminent figures such as De Valois and Rambert was important in promoting dance, raising standards and creating audiences for classical dance generally. Although these companies were ballet-oriented, the visibility and status they gave to dance did prepare the foundations for the emergence of other dance forms, albeit much later.

Experimental forms of dance had existed since the beginning of the 20th century, but the main proponents of this dance form came from the US or mainland Europe and the influence of classical traditions on British dance was considered so powerful that the establishment of a modern dance movement in Britain took a generation longer than in Europe. Despite guest appearances of modern dancers in the UK like Isadora Duncan modern dance in the UK never experienced the same degree of interest or, indeed, development as it did in mainland Europe during the early decades of the 20th century. In fact the

establishment of modern or contemporary dance as a dance genre in the UK owed its existence to choreographers and teachers from mainland Europe. Although there were contemporaries of Rudolf Laban at work in Britain at the same time as he came to the fore in central Europe including Ruby Ginner and her 'Revived Greek Dance', Madge Atkinson's 'Natural Movement' and Margaret Morris's Movement, only Morris was able to establish herself in the public eye both in the theatre as well as in the field of dance education (Brinson, 1991, p.17).

Consequently most attempts to popularise the modern dance form during the 1920s in the UK were short-lived. Not surprisingly contemporary dance in the UK barely featured in mainstream schedules or funding schemes for several decades. It was only with the visit of Martha Graham to the UK in 1954 that British audiences began to take seriously alternatives to classical ballet.

Such tours helped to spark a renewed interest in contemporary dance forms in the UK. In 1962 Norman Morrice, a dancer and choreographer with Ballet Rambert, visited America to study with some of the major US choreographers including Martha Graham and on his return persuaded Marie Rambert to re-invent her company as a smaller, contemporary dance ensemble comprising dancers trained in both classical and contemporary dance techniques and to rename it as the Rambert Dance Company (White, 1985).

During the same period American modern dance companies headed by Merce Cunningham, Alvin Ailey and Paul Taylor came to Britain and helped to spark serious interest through a sustained season of some 13 weeks of performances. The new art forms that emerged during the 1960s influenced artists from all disciplines and served to blur distinctions between them. New genres of performance art and mixed media were created and the momentum created by this revival continued throughout the 1960s and with the founding of the London School of Contemporary Dance (LSCD) in 1966 a tangible counter-movement to ballet had been finally created (Jordan, 1989).

During this period signs also began to emerge artistically of a break with the hegemony of the classical choreographer in the contact improvisation

work of the US choreographers Steve Paxton and Mary Fulkerson²⁶ and the UK's New Dance movement. For ballet the tensions between the new aesthetics represented by modern and postmodern dance forms and the desire to maintain a legitimate position within the arts sector became gradually apparent. Kenneth MacMillan, successor to Frederick Ashton at the Royal Ballet, was a prominent figure in efforts to modernise ballet in the UK who:

“...sought more openly to subvert the classical technique, importing an attitude to weight and the use of the torso from modern dance. He also looked to explore radically new subject-matters for ballet: sombre, often harrowing explorations of psychological themes based upon historical events or literary sources” (Rowell, 2000, p.194).

As the past four decades bridging the 20th and 21st centuries have been characterised by a gradual blurring of the boundaries between ‘high’ and ‘low’ art, so to the influence of popular culture on dance and vice versa has become more obvious. Amongst the best known of British choreographers working in this middle ground are Lea Anderson and Matthew Bourne who have both re-interpreted classical ballet works into highly popular box office successes. Both are graduates of the Laban Centre for Movement and Dance, a leading centre for contemporary dance training and music²⁷ and who achieved prolific success during the 1980s and 1990s. Both have also been successful at combining or adapting various genres into their work, demonstrating a flair for the theatrical. Although they emerged during the period of Thatcherite conservatism in the UK (1979-1990), their work has tended to avoid overtly political or polemic themes and instead caters for popular tastes.

Attempts to create new forms of dance aesthetic in the UK have been more overt in the work of Lloyd Newson and his company DV8 and CanDoCo. Lloyd Newson has been particularly closely associated with ‘issue-based work’, drawing on his training as a psychologist to create works that reflect

²⁶ Contact improvisation has been termed as “...a dance form based on the exchange of energy, weight, and momentum between two (or more people). Influenced by Asian martial arts such as Tai Chi and Aikido, as well as the release work taught by Mark Fulkerson, contact improvisation embodied many of the cultural values being championed in the early 1970s” (Albright, 1999, p. 187).

²⁷ Renamed Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance after becoming part of Trinity School of Music in 2005. Source: Trinity Laban web site: <http://www.trinitylaban.ac.uk/about-us/our-history/timeline-of-laban>.

technically both contact improvisation and Pina Bausch's more expressionistic dance theatre (German: Tanztheater). CanDoCo, the UK's best known company incorporating both able-bodied and disabled dancers has created many works that challenge notions of disability and body aesthetics.

We have summarised the key phases of development of contemporary dance in the UK in Table 5.1:

Period	Primary influences	Theme/ Developmental Stage	Main Exponents
1960s	Modernism	Emergence as a distinct UK dance form	Ballet Rambert
1970s	Post-modernism	Experimental; New Dance	LSCD, LCDT, Richard Alston, Siobhan Davies, Rambert Dance Company, X6
1980s-1990s	Neo-classicism	Dance theatre	Lea Anderson; Matthew Bourne
1990s – 2000s	Modernism & Post-modernism	Multi-media performance art; New aesthetics	Wayne McGregor, Russell Maliphant; Lloyd Newson

Table 5.1: Key Phases In The Development Of UK Contemporary Dance

5.3.1 New Dance: the UK's first own contemporary dance movement

In her book *Striding Out*, Stephanie Jordan states that:

“ ‘New Dance’: the power of a label is strong. The term was coined with the publication of the first issue of *New Dance* magazine in New Year, 1977. This was one of the projects to be initiated by a group of dancers who called themselves the X6 Collective, after their working base X6 Dance Space in the Bermondsey Docklands in London []. With the advent of the magazine, the term ‘New Dance’ was immediately applied to the work of these artists, to that of many others covered in the pages of the magazine and later, as we have seen, retrospectively” (Jordan, 1992, p.58).

To put the remarkable growth of UK contemporary dance and groups like X6 during the 1970s into perspective one has to look towards the founding of the London School of Contemporary Dance (LSCD) in 1966 by Robin Howard, a wealthy philanthropist and contemporary dance advocate.

This was a fertile breeding ground for dance artists from various backgrounds. Its first intake consisted of art school graduates, Royal Ballet-trained dancers and even sculptors. The freedom to create and improvise featured strongly in the early years of the school and spawned several groups who represented a lively counterpoint to more traditional forms of dance. Dancers who came to prominence during the early years of the school include Richard Alston, Siobhan Davies, Diana Davies, Jacky Lansley and the film director Sally Potter. As the school became established and more normative in its practices, less improvised approaches to teaching were adopted and eventually several dancers felt the need to break away from the, by now, conventional contemporary dance scene.

These artists began to found their own support structures in the form of the Association of Dance and Mime Artists (ADMA) to counter the somewhat negative attitude of bodies like the Arts Council towards independent artists (Jordan, 1992). This antipathy manifested itself frequently where institutional norms and those of independent, creative artists differed, especially where managerial as opposed to artistic professionalism and competence was emphasised. More importantly the energy of the X6 collective, founded in 1976 stimulated a whole generation of dancers and choreographers who now began to feel that they had discovered a true British identity for modern dance and who did not feel obliged to adopt the styles of the modernists and post-modernists from the US. The collective also expressed strong political motivations that were underlined by its links to the feminist movement and its role as an information hub.

Although the Collective only lasted some four years, eventually forced to make way for Docklands property development in 1980, it left a legacy that still exists today in the form of the Chisenhale Dance Space, the only artist-run dance space in Britain and in a feeling that New Dance had helped British dance break free of the confines of classical dance forms and become more socially and politically aware:

“Undoubtedly, an organization like X6, with its interest in process and discussion and time-indulgent consideration for the person participating in art, could hardly have existed in the more pressured, market-led 1980s. It was a 1970s phenomenon. Yet, in the very nature of the X6 organization lies an important legacy to the New Dance of the 1980s, however osmotically this might have been received,

however little recognized: a fundamental clearing process had been initiated to encourage ‘thinking’ dancers and to undermine the myths that surround the more traditional genres of dance” (Jordan, 1992, p.86).

5.3.2 The New Dance Legacy

From the beginning New Dance groups like X6 actively incorporated audience participation and the use of small intimate performance spaces into their works (Jordan, 1992, p.75). The journal that the group issued from 1977 onwards, *New Dance*, specifically encouraged debates about dance and its relationship to a myriad of issues including dance anthropology and history, gender issues, social and folk dance, dance therapy and the funding of dance. The tendency to emphasise social and political issues drew criticism from several quarters, both inside as well as outside collectives like X6. For some choreographers and dancers too much emphasis was being placed on New Dance’s efforts to foreground dance as a form of self-realization and a way of establishing relationships with the social realities of the day.

However, according to Jordan (1992, p.86), independent or contemporary dancers are more aware today of the role of personal politics, whether explicit or implicit, in performance as a consequence of the work of groups like X6 and the New Dance phenomenon. Several of its leading figures continued with the philosophy they had developed as a part of X6. Fergus Early, one of its founders became closely involved with the emerging community dance movement²⁸ after leaving X6 and founded the Green Candle Dance Company in 1984 after a brief spell at Chisenhale. As Rowell (2000, p.195) maintains, the New Dance movement did much to influence the

²⁸ Community Dance as a discrete area of the dance ecology and economy began to develop some thirty years ago leading to the appointment of specific posts for dance development which were then known as Animateurs. Over time as the number of such posts grew, the people concerned developed a network for mutual support and information exchange which grew into a formally constituted organization, the National Association of Dance and Mime Animateurs (NADMA - formed in 1986). This developed with funding from the Arts Council of Great Britain into the Community Dance and Mime Foundation (CDMF) an organization that offered support, advice, training events and publications for the dance sector developing work in community contexts. Out of this has grown the Foundation for Community Dance. Source: <http://www.communitydance.org.uk/DB/research-3/mapping-community-dance.html> . [Downloaded 14 July 2013].

development of the community dance movement in forging links “...between the concerns and needs of different groups within the community and the profession”.

In an article for the Foundation for Community Dance's (FCD) magazine *Animated* in 2007, Fergus Early himself mused on a personal journey that culminated in a commitment to Community Dance as a means to bridge the gap between the performing artist and the general population:

“I'm not sure how my own personal odyssey relates to how 'community dance' has become such a prominent feature of this country's artistic ecology. Perhaps the insularity and lack of self-confidence within the dance world has almost forced the development of an alternative structure that reaches out to people in a way that the main theatrical dance forms find problematic. Compare dance to theatre - a classical actor can slip easily from rarefied classical drama to the most demotic - Shakespeare to Coronation Street. Dance lacks this wide spectrum of popular acceptance and 'theatre dance' is still seen either as esoteric and out of reach or as thinly disguised pornography by a very large part of the population. Community dance has perhaps filled a gaping hole between these two (mis)conceptions.”²⁹

The participatory, inclusive nature of Community Dance tends to avoid overtly problematic themes such as disability, although handicapped people are encouraged to participate as performers in a therapeutic sense. The handling of provocative topics therefore tends to lie with professional dance companies like Candoco and DV8: dance companies that both work with able- and disabled performers and consciously tackle challenging topics such as gender and disability. In an article written by one of the Guardian newspaper's dance critics, Sanjoy Roy, in January 2006³⁰ two of Candoco's best known performers (and both disabled) were cited from interviews they gave in the FCD's magazine *Animated* in 2002 and 2007 respectively:

²⁹ Source: <http://www.communitydance.org.uk/DB/animated-library/a-story-a-joke-a-sense-of-human-contact-journeys-t.html?ed=14047>. [Accessed 14 July 2013].

³⁰ Source: www.guardian.co.uk/stage/2009/jan/06/dance-candoco?intcmp=239. [Accessed May 27 2006].

“I am proud of that work. It was not ‘nicey’ disabled dancing, it was hard-edged and wasn’t what you expected from a disabled dance group” (David Toole, 2002³¹).

“I was particularly aware that we could be seen as ‘doing dance therapy; or ‘disabled dancing’. I was just not interested in either of those things” (Celeste Danecker, 2007³²).

Describing its artistic policy on its web-site DV8 proclaims that it: “... is about taking risks, aesthetically and physically, about breaking down the barriers between dance and theatre and, above all, communicating ideas and feelings clearly and unpretentiously. It is determined to be radical yet accessible, and to take its work to as wide an audience as possible.

DV8 is motivated by artistic inspiration and creative need: these, rather than financial, organizational and touring demands dictate the creation of new works.

Great emphasis is placed on the process by which new work is created. The company has fought successfully for funding to cover lengthy research and development periods in order to maintain rigorous artistic integrity and quality in each new project. The focus of the creative approach is on reinvesting dance with meaning, particularly where this has been lost through formalised techniques.

DV8's work inherently questions the traditional aesthetics and forms which pervade both modern and classical dance, and attempts to push beyond the values they reflect to enable discussion of wider and more complex issues.”

Although their work appears aligned to government policy objectives on access and inclusion both CanDoCo and DV8 have demonstrably distanced themselves in these texts from a perception that their work is simply an instrumental response to current dance policy. Performances frequently tackle social and political issues, but there is a distinct objective by both groups to be seen as artistically innovative in their own right; in the vanguard of a new aesthetic even. Both adopt a confrontational attitude towards accepted notions

³¹ Source: http://www.dv8.co.uk/about_dv8/artistic_policy. [Accessed 14 July 2013].

³² Source: <http://www.communitydance.org.uk/DB/animated-library/a-compelling-combination.html?ed=14048>. [Accessed 14 July 2013].

of disability and the tendency to view disabled people as inherently vulnerable and weak and in need of dedicated financial and political support.

This unambiguous, pioneering stance to artistic practice taken by both companies contrasts with the more instrumental, self-interested view that some community dance practitioners have about their role:

“I think I was attracted to the world of community arts because I was anxious to spend my time being ‘useful’. The world of dance felt too disengaged from the real world for me. When I began working in the field, I came to realise that my attraction to community work was more about its effect on me than its effect on others (although the two are interlinked)” (Parkes, 2003, pp. 2-3).

This illustrates the dilemma many dance organizations face in trying to balance the demands of dance policies that comprise logics imported from other policy areas and based on social welfare and market notions of value with intrinsic logics of artistic innovation and creativity. Within the dance sector tensions exist as artists attempt to find compromises with these conflicting demands, trying to cross boundaries between different dance practices and traditions. For example, despite the FCD’s work on inclusion a dichotomy remains between what community dance and professional dance:

“The very way we define dance affects the access of disabled people to the professional dance world. In the current UK dance scene it seems that a preoccupation with the idealised human form, rooted in history and classical dance, continues to privilege the image of the slim, non-disabled dancer, at the expense of any body, disabled or nondisabled, that deviates from this norm. Whilst many contemporary dance pioneers have sought to move away from the exclusivity and homogeneity synonymous with ballet, there remains to a great extent a fixed and ‘able-ist’ understanding of what meets the contemporary dance aesthetic.”³³

Such debates and the overt polemical stance taken by artists like Lloyd Newson suggest that the true legacy of the multi-faceted New Dance

³³ Source: <http://fcd.new.hciyork.co.uk/DB/animated-library-5/towards-a-new-vision-of-dance.html?dis=14075> :Towards a new vision of dance by Eluned Charnley. [Accessed 14 July 2013].

movement is one that challenges traditional aesthetic norms about dance and its artists and the hegemony of the choreographer-dancer in the UK. This differs from the more instrumental view of cultural politicians who emphasise the value to be gained from greater social inclusion and access to the arts generally as a consequence of participation in dance.

In chapters Six (6) and Seven (7) we analyse the implications of this divergence in perspective as we delineate firstly the discourses that characterise government policy on dance and then examine the nature of the responses amongst selected dance organizations as they deploy discourses that comply with or counter the motivations behind the policy texts.

5.4 Contemporary Dance in Germany: A Historical Trajectory

Tracing the trajectory of contemporary dance in Germany to the present day is crucial in order to contextualise and understand the motivations behind the approach taken towards cultural policy making and implementation there. The evolution of the contemporary dance field in Germany today is effectively characterised by three dance epochs. The first, exemplified by ballet, resembles very much the role dance played throughout Europe, from the Renaissance period until the late 19th century, i.e. as a decorative, entertaining narrative accompaniment to the main theatrical performance on stage. The other two, *Ausdruckstanz* (literally ‘dance of expression’ not, expressionistic dance) and *Tanztheater* (‘dance theatre’) reflect the much more politically overt role of culture in Germany that dates back to the 18th century. This is partly the legacy of a tendency to use the theatrical stage for national or political debate (Weber, 1991, p.44).

However, as the 19th century progressed ballet was gradually seen as being emblematic of traditions and customs that were coming to be considered too rigid and inflexible. Industrialisation and its democratisation of prosperity and the political emancipation of the masses all began to exert an influence on dancers who sought:

“...Liberation from bodily constraints, emancipation from an outmoded and rigid ballet tradition, a move towards democratisation in ensemble structures” (Kant, 2006, p.59).

These notions were gradually adopted by dancers and choreographers as aspects of a modernising movement in dance. With the break with balletic traditions and the growing emphasis on mass culture artists and performers sought to develop new modes of expression. For some observers the importance of the 'body', both collective and individual, began to be seen as a channel for these new modes of expression. As Kant contends in her review of Inge Bachmann's 2000 study of modernity and dance in the late 19th and early 20th centuries:

"...dance is the sphere in which contradictory discourses and cultural practices crystallise and form configurations that allow both the making of communities and the cultivation of a modern sensual reception of social organizational forms" (Kant, 2006, p.55).

The break with dance traditions was particularly noticeable in the movements in America and Germany during the period just prior to World War I. One of the first writers on modern dance during this era in Europe was the German critic Hans Brandenburg who compiled several editions of a work entitled 'Der Moderne Tanz' and in which the term 'modern dance' appears to have been taken to refer to 'dance of the time' rather than a specific genre (Huxley, 1994, p.151).

Following the social and political upheavals of World War I the German dance movement broke free of all constraints to create 'Ausdruckstanz', literally 'dance of expression'. Ausdruckstanz saw dance primarily "...as a philosophical, metaphysical or even spiritual statement" (Jeschke & Vettermann, 2000, p.55) and which sought to bring together the body, movement and space in a way that exemplified both the independence and the trans-disciplinarity of dance and give rise to a uniquely 'modern' German dance form with its primary proponents originating from Eastern Europe. This represented a clear signal of the German form breaking free of American influence and also signified the deep social and cultural changes that were underway in the country at the time. As Huxley (1994, p.151) remarks, the 1928 version of 'Der Moderne Tanz' by Laemmle classified the 'present' as the 'second flowering of modern dance'. referring only to German and Austrian Artists. After 1933 the terminology became significantly more nationalistic and modern dance was re-defined as 'Deutscher Tanz' (German dance).

Ausdruckstanz, which frequently involved solo dance and a focus on the individual, was a two-pronged response to the rigidity and conformity of the anachronistic pre-World War I Wilhelminian era. On the one hand artists were reacting to a desire for dramatic change amongst the young by exploring genuinely individual forms of bodily expression. On the other hand this was sometimes borne of necessity as artists were often forced by straitened circumstances to dispense with dancers or musicians and create numerous solo pieces for themselves. It was also during this period that German dance artists began to use the term ‘Tänzerchoreograf’ to indicate the solo nature of their dances (Tanztage Berlin 2012).

A key figure in this movement was Rudolf von Laban (1879-1958) who developed a range of movements and a notational system, the so-called Laban notational system to record, describe and interpret and document any body movement in relation to a 3-dimensional kinesphere. This emphasis on space and the body’s relation to and position within a space was used by his students, who numbered Mary Wigman and Kurt Jooss amongst them, as a way to express both concepts of rhythm and conflict. For Laban his notation system was a vehicle that facilitated the spread of his ideas amongst a German population previously used only to relatively poor standards of modern dance. By creating dance schools, dance groups and lecturing regularly Laban raised awareness of Ausdruckstanz throughout the country and began to engage the public directly in his works (Jeschke & Vettermann, 2000, p.59).

To recapitulate we have summarised the key phases of contemporary German dance in Table 5.2:

Historical era	German historical context	Dance movement
Baroque to late 19 th century	Independent kingdoms and principalities; no centralised government or unifying focus;	Balletic – Purely narrative function delineated by highly stylised forms of expression and movement
Late 19 th century to 1930s	Growing social unrest in the face of economic inequalities and regional differences in spite of a unifying nation state	Expressive dance- Ausdruckstanz. Individual response and resistance to inflexible, anachronistic norms and values
1960s – 1980s	Economic prosperity in the West, but growing divide with East Germany	Tanztheater – Socio-political polemic

Table 5.2: Key phases in the development of German contemporary dance

5.4.1 Ausdruckstanz

The naturalistic nature of Ausdruckstanz quickly led to the work of some of its protagonists like Wigman being appropriated by the National Socialists in Germany. The idealistic nature of much of the work made it vulnerable to political manipulation, exacerbated by the already highly volatile situation in Europe in the aftermath of the First World War.

Both Wigman and Laban had championed a national dance form for Germany and found that the National Socialists were willing to sponsor dance as long as it supported their views on social order and their ideal of the 'deutscher Tänzer Mensch'. This went so far as attempts by the Fighting League for German Culture to argue for a reformation of the three main types of dance, i.e. folk, social and stage dance in Germany on the basis of a number of principles that accentuated dance as an expression of the health and strength of those undertaking it; linked dance inextricably to music; rejected 'old' ballet techniques (mainly because of its foreign origins and internationalism) and required dance teachers to satisfy the same requirements as any other educator with a responsibility to 'reconstruct' the people (Oberzaucher-Schüller, 2011, p.152).

Despite undertaking efforts to comply with the Nazis, Laban's position in Germany eventually proved untenable and he moved to England in 1938 to join his former students Kurt Jooss and Lisa Ullmann. This dispersal of talent was exacerbated by the stifling control exerted by the Nazi regime on the arts in Germany both before and during the Second World War and many other modern dance teachers and exponents of Ausdruckstanz joined a growing diaspora leaving Germany. In the newly divided Germany of 1949 Ausdruckstanz disappeared almost completely with many companies returning to a dance culture concentrated very much on the classical ballet form as its main dance genre.

Gradually, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, choreographers diversified, with some becoming opera directors. Suddenly the topics of interest moved away from the fairy tales and romantic myths that had formed the core of the classical ballet repertoire and into the realm of social criticism. In the late 1960s the turmoil of the student protests throughout Europe gave a new impetus to experimentation in the arts and the Tanztheater form was created in

West Germany. In East Germany classical forms of dance, heavily influenced by the Russian tradition of ballet, continued to dominate.

5.4.2 Tanztheater

Taking its precedent from Ausdruckstanz, Tanztheater (literally ‘dance theatre’) saw choreographers elevate expression once more above form to view dance as a mode of social engagement (Manning & Benson, 1986, p.30). Many of the first wave of dancers and choreographers who espoused Tanztheater were themselves part of the social as well as artistic upheavals of the day, gaining even greater impetus from the deaths of Mary Wigman and John Cranko, the latter a leading figure on the German ballet scene after World War II (Daly, 1986, p.46).

Tanztheater reflected a form of expression that eschewed traditional narrative dance forms in favour of a social and political polemic and was well placed to illustrate the concerns of civil society. In West Germany Johann Kresnik, a protégé of Peter Appel at the Tanzforum Köln, played a crucial role in defining the themes and styles that marked Tanztheater out as a distinctly German dance form. Whereas Kresnik concentrated on exploring societal and political issues in Germany, the female dancer-choreographers Pina Bausch and Suzanne Linke, who both rose to prominence during the 1970s, were more preoccupied with the frequently painful emotional relationships between the sexes.

In the early years of the 21st century however, concerns were raised about the effect that political indifference and funding cuts were starting to have on the dance scene generally in Germany. Ballet master positions were being downgraded to ballet leaders and the number of dancers at state and municipal theatres was cut by 120 in just one year between 2002 and 2003³⁴. Exponents of the Tanztheater form were particularly under threat with the future of Pina Bausch’s Tanztheater Wuppertal being openly discussed while Johann Kresnik’s Choreographisches Theater in East Berlin was forced to close during 2002.

³⁴ Source: <http://www.goethe.de?kue/tut/thm/en41849.htm>.

In more recent years a refreshed form of Tanztheater has emerged out of a re-unified Germany. Contemporary dance currently consists of two main streams, one primarily conceptual in nature and represented by choreographers like Xavier Le Roy and the other more light-hearted and juvenile in style, led by Constanza Macras and Sascha Waltz (Heun, 2007, p.6). Berlin is and remains the centre for contemporary dance in Germany, attracting independent choreographers and artists from all over the world as well as offering professional training and education.

Whilst exponents of Tanztheater are still active today and the influence of Berlin continues to grow, the considerable political, financial and cultural strain of German reunification beginning in 1990 resulted in a general weariness (Jeschke & Vettermann, 2000), which other regions struggled to overcome. However, with the growing importance of Berlin as a cultural tourism destination and European hub of contemporary dance there is renewed interest in experimentation and a continuing development of the art form, strengthened in 2005 with the initiative Tanzplan. In Chapter Six (6) we examine Tanzplan in more detail as both a cultural and a political initiative and then study its implications for the German contemporary dance sector in Chapter Seven (7).

5.5 Legacy of the Post-WWII German Cultural and Political Divide

The overt and often crude interventions used to force artists to conform to a centralised ideology of what dance was during the Nazi era meant that subsequent German governments and their agencies avoided absolutist statements about the direction and intent of national cultural policy. Indeed this stance is enshrined in the constitution itself, with the only notable exception being Berlin, which was granted a greater degree of cultural as well as political autonomy in 2006 after a reform of the federal system allocated more responsibility to the government for culture in the capital³⁵. The more limited influence of central government in national cultural matters generally is a clear

³⁵ In 2006 a reform of the federal system came into effect and involved some redistribution of responsibilities between the federal government and the states. In the cultural sector this meant that the government assumed more responsibility for culture in Berlin itself. Source: <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/germany.php?aid=81>.

relic from a period when culture and the arts in Germany were subject to a highly political and authoritarian supervisory regime. The backlash to this centralised cultural control remains visible today, whereby the federal structure of the country allows regional differences in infrastructure, funding and focus to be maintained. Each federal state has a number of institutions, foundations and municipal bodies that are responsible for allocating funding on behalf of all art forms.

The highly individualistic nature of *Ausdruckstanz* and *Tanztheater* was a natural response to the uniformity of centralised authority exemplified by the imperial era. Both forms were a response to the lack of a national identity for dance in Germany that was reinforced by the political divide that separated East and West Germany for 40 years.

The current German dance landscape is diverse with ca. 60 dance ensembles associated with municipal and state theatres; 1000 independent groups and 10,000 individuals working professionally in the area of artistic dance. Regular funding of approximately euro 100 million p.a. is invested in established dance and theatrical venues whilst ca. euro 10 million p.a. supports independent productions.³⁶ Of the different genres the classical dance sector has been the main focus for institutionalised support and funding since the Second World War. In comparison the contemporary dance field has been under-funded and its recognition as a peer art form alongside drama, music or film theatre has been difficult to establish.

After 1945 West and East Germany converged on classical dance, i.e. ballet, as the preferred genre, but for different reasons. Both rejected *Ausdruckstanz*; in the West, because of a desire to avoid national particularism the universally accepted genre of ballet was favoured. In the East, social realism was promoted over the mystical and obscure expressionism of *Ausdruckstanz*, (Franko, 2007, p.83). Examples of a form of so-called German Ballet that had been prevalent during the Nazi era continued for some time in both West and East. The repertoire incorporated German folk tales and history into the ballet medium and used the music of classical German composers to tell very linear stories. By the 1960s this repertoire had all but disappeared from the stage, replaced once more by the French and Russian repertoire.

³⁶ Source: <http://www.dachverband-tanz.de/intro.html>. [Accessed 6 March 2013].

The emergence of different forms of Tanztheater in both Germanys in the early 1970s was another example of how dance-political particularism hindered the creation of a national dance identity. Nevertheless the topics espoused by leading Tanztheater choreographers like Bausch and Kresnik did imbue the genre with a style most closely associated with the political forms of theatre that were prevalent in Germany during the 1970s and 1980s when the West was plagued by terrorist groups such as the Baader-Meinhof gang and the Red Army Faction.

Today a divide still remains between classical dance companies and contemporary choreographers and dancers across Germany. Classical dance companies continue to receive a larger proportion of funding regionally, but high-profile contemporary dance companies such as The Forsythe Company, Sascha Waltz and Guests and the Tanztheater Wuppertal Pina Bausch have been able to forge alliances with state dance institutions.

The investment in Berlin as Germany's cultural and political capital in recent years has also seen contemporary dance benefit. Alongside the state-funded Staatsballett, numerous freelance artists have taken advantage of Berlin's relatively low cost of living and reputation as a city that is 'poor, but sexy'³⁷. However, in an act reminiscent of the tumultuous early 1920s, aspiring dance artists who attended the 'Tanztage Berlin 2012' festival at the beginning of January 2012 were similarly inspired to stage solos or pieces with few dancers. The political intent of many of the performers was tangible in the statements written in the programmes for the performances and illustrated in the motto of the festival 'Flipping the switch', a call to give emerging and unknown choreographers an animated and above all moving voice in support of better conditions for freelance artists in the dance sector.

In Chapter Seven (7) we describe the legacy of Tanzplan Deutschland, not only in Berlin, but nationwide, and show that in spite of the overt support for dance represented by Tanzplan, ambivalent attitudes remain amongst artists about state interventions in culture. We show that in spite of attempts to unite dance representation federally in the form of a national Tanzbüro, regional resistance and municipal interests continue to dominate.

³⁷ Reference to a quote made in a 2004 television interview by Berlin's mayor, Klaus Wowereit.

5.6 Summary and Discussion

Dance, with its somatic associations, is easily appropriated for political and cultural-political purposes. Yet throughout most of the 19th century attitudes towards dance were governed more by class distinctions than direct political action. However, in the wake of the rapid industrialisation of Europe during the 19th century and the social changes that this brought, culture in its various forms began to be used as a vehicle to challenge previous religious, political, and cultural hegemonies throughout the continent. This trend gained momentum in the aftermath of World War I and the collapse of the imperialist regimes of Russia and Germany. For Germany this turmoil signalled a fundamental change in the societal order, bringing in the country's first system of political democracy. It also meant a release from the conservative and restrictive structures governing many aspects of cultural life in Germany. Thus for dance the new forms of expression quickly evolved into a highly distinct movement form, namely *Ausdruckstanz* that emphasised individual identity and personal freedoms to a hitherto unknown degree.

For the UK the absence of the trauma of fundamental political and social change of the type experienced in Germany meant that the class distinctions that had previously governed tastes in the arts continued to dominate. Whilst classical ballet established itself as the dominant dance genre after World War I, modern, more individualistic forms of bodily expression struggled for attention. This defined the UK dance field right up to the late 1950s and 1960s when a determined effort by a minority of dance enthusiasts and artists to establish a British modern dance scene were successful. For a brief time the New Dance scene flourished, primarily in London, but the lack of government support for alternative dance forms and the criticism of the movement's interest in social and political issues soon led to the dispersal of some of the most prominent exponents of British New Dance. The failure of a more abstract, polemical form of dance expression to take hold of the public's imagination caused some artists to look for more accessible means of communication. The subsequent emergence of the UK Community Dance sector exemplifies an overt attempt to displace the esoteric aesthetic of contemporary dance and make dance adhere to a participatory, inclusive ethic. The tensions that have arisen as a result, as Community Dance struggles for legitimacy as a true artistic form of expression whilst satisfying the

instrumentalism of cultural policy in the UK, are explored in more detail in Chapters Six (6) and Seven (7) and demonstrate a fundamental problem for the perception of dance as a true art form. Where we do observe conscious efforts to create an alternative dance aesthetic in the form of DV8 and CanDoCo's work, there is a tendency to view it as a professional manifestation of Community Dance, involving as it does, both able-bodied and disabled performers.

The economic collapse of Germany and the ensuing chaos in the 1920s provided the opportunity for the highly centralist, authoritarian regime of the National Socialists to take over many spheres of social, cultural and political activity. The arts were exploited for political expediency and ideological control of cultural production in Germany. For dance this meant constraints on permissible genres, teaching and practice methods and scholarship. With the end of World War II and the division of Germany the political exploitation of dance did not end. However, the wish to find an alternative to classical forms of dance and reinvigorate the spirit of the 1920s motivated a small, but determined group of artists to develop an updated form of *Ausdruckstanz*, i.e. *Tanztheater* that adopted a more critical view of the social order in the new West Germany. Post-reunification in 1990 a new energy has become apparent in the German dance field with the promotion of Berlin to Europe's contemporary dance hub and the creation of dedicated teaching and performance facilities in the capital for the genre that indicate a clear commitment to dance as primarily an art form. In our analysis of policy and practice implications in Chapters Six (6) and Seven (7) we demonstrate in more detail how this has come about through an examination of the historically contingent nature of cultural policy governance, exploring the implementation outcomes of the *Tanzplan* programme, Germany's first federally sponsored nationwide dance initiatives. We also describe the limitations of the approach taken, using case examples drawn from Berlin's institutionalised dance scene (HZT) and the freelance sector.

CHAPTER SIX A Comparison of Dance Policy and Cultural Institutions in the UK and Germany

6.1 Introduction

The advent of overtly instrumental cultural policy making since the 1990s in Europe shows variations in both its articulation and implementation. Whilst discourses of globalization and neo-liberalism are frequently cited to justify policy instrumentalism, a consistent explanation of how policy making in different countries is linked to localised outcomes is not apparent:

“There are a number of potential explanations for the transformation of arts and cultural policies in recent years. Globalization, for example, has been identified as being a generic account of what has been affecting many policy areas, including that of cultural policy (Canclini 2000; Dewey 2004; McGuigan 2004, pp. 125-129; 2005), although the variations in how states react to globalising pressures (see, in terms of cultural policies, Craik et al. 2003; in broader systemic terms see Lawson 2003) cast doubts on such generalised explanatory models that have yet to develop a coherent causal account of the linkages that exist between the macro and the micro levels” (Gray, 2007, p.207).

In this chapter we use a comparative-historical approach to compare the cultural policies and political institutions influencing the contemporary dance fields in the UK and Germany countries up to the present day. This comparison enables a clearer identification of the factors that distinguish and differentiate cultural policy in the two countries including the institutional arrangements that impact policy change. In doing so we identify the main determinants that emerge from the analysis to examine how the legitimacy of cultural policy is constructed (claimed and maintained) in the dance sector.

The process we follow intends, firstly, to demonstrate the historically contingent nature of cultural development and the impact on present-day policy making and institutions by drawing on the analysis developed in Chapter Five (5). Secondly, we seek to identify the primary logics inherent in the policy texts and how these texts are privileged at the expense of alternative intrinsic

logics using rhetorical strategies imported from other policy areas. Thirdly, we show how these strategies are appropriated by policy makers or their representatives to develop discourses used to make a case for fundamental institutional change in the dance sector with implications for existing intrinsic notions of identity, legitimacy and artistic practice amongst dance professionals and practitioners.

6.2 Cultural Policy and Institutions: A European Context

The objective of the analysis presented in this section is to situate UK cultural policy and that of contemporary dance in relation to that of Germany since World War II.

Although cultural policy throughout Europe has undergone changes that are similar to those of the UK, those changes are situated in historical backgrounds that have moderated the manner in which policy has been implemented. One factor, for example, is the level of government control and degree of centralisation of arts policy and management exercised by policy makers. In the UK the performing arts (and dance) have a home in the central government Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) with the counterpart in France being the Ministry for Cultural Affairs. In Germany a multiplicity of institutions are involved in informing and funding cultural policy development for the performing arts in Germany, reflecting both its decentralised, federalist structure and enabling a highly devolved cultural administration to function at a Länder level.

Not only are present-day governance structures of policy making important in influencing direction and focus, but historical institutional arrangements and processes also play an important role. This perspective has a precedent in both the work of Steinmo et al. (1992) and that of Motion & Leitch (2009). Firstly, by applying Steinmo et al.'s (1992, p.11) definition of institution as a mediating influence between political actors and national political outcomes, we highlight the question of how the organization, timing and sequencing of interactions between institutional actors influences the outcome, e.g. policy.

This process of construction of policy both as an instrument of consensus and conflict in turn stresses the constructive role of public policy making in questions of legitimacy and identity and the formation of new institutional arrangements. We see this as an important aspect of understanding how new logics are introduced into a field and how they come to influence aspects of organizational identity and practice. Furthermore, Motion & Leitch (2009, pp.1056-1057) cite Foucault (1991, p.81) to claim how the public policy making process may change institutional arrangements in fundamental ways so as to transform a controversial proposition into an acceptable undertaking through discourse transformation:

“During a societal controversy, the transformational potential of public policy is mobilized by governments seeking to normalize change and win acceptance for a discourse transformation. The promise of legitimacy and the democratizing effects involved in public policy formation processes have the power to profoundly influence organizational priorities and activities. Sanctioned organizational programmes, strategies and practices may then ‘crystallize into institutions’, ‘inform individual behaviour’ and ‘act as grids for the perception and evaluation of things.’”

In our examination of UK and Germany policy texts in sections 6.3.3 and 6.4.3 we show how and why the ‘policy formation processes’ differ between the two countries and what distinguishes them as examples of pedagogic practices. We regard such aspects of policy formation and mediation to be of relevance to dance genres like contemporary dance, given that the choreographic purpose of a performance is frequently not to entertain or create an aesthetic experience, but rather to stimulate the audience to engage with real-world issues and matters of social relevance (Kolb, 2011, p.xv). Consequently the effect of pedagogy can have a far-reaching effect by questioning the legitimacy of the artistic intent and practices of the performers.

The political environment becomes even more relevant to this point of view when dance is used for ideological purposes as exemplified by the appropriation of German Modern Dance by the Nazis and the administrative restructuring of the German dance scene in order to bring about an alignment with the political ideology of the National Socialists of the day (Oberzaucher-Schüller, 2011, p.152). Thus, any attempt to constrain the freedom or control

the ability of either choreographer or performer to express him- or herself, regardless of the justification, is a political act, whether it is explicit or implied.

Belfiore and Bennett (2008) identified eight categories or ‘functions’ of the arts that encompass both ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ traditions that range from a claim that the arts corrupt to the current preoccupation with the arts’ role as a political instrument, expected to meet demands that:

“...required all parts of the public sector to make demonstrable contributions to government objectives and to meet specified targets” (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008, p.7).

Increasingly the claims that cultural policy must support and justify are rooted in an economic justification of culture. Reforms of the welfare state and public sector services in many European countries, including the UK and Germany have resulted in new employment models for many workers, requiring them to be more ‘entrepreneurial’ and flexible. Central to such arguments is the:

“...application of capitalist industrialism, namely the profit motive, to creative activity” (Chong, 2002, p.ix).

However, the application of the term ‘entrepreneur’ to the cultural sector is somewhat more complicated. In fact the combination of such terms as ‘cultural’ and ‘entrepreneur’ rather than ‘artist’ to describe someone working in the arts is relatively new. It is a term that has been derived from ‘cultural worker’ and ‘entrepreneurial individual’ or ‘entrepreneurial cultural worker’, where the former expression was first coined in the late 1960s as:

“...an emancipatory term from the post-1968 movement (in the FRG, Austria and Switzerland) which has acquired a new interpretation in the employment policy context of the 1990s in which the cultural worker has had to become a cultural micro-entrepreneur” (Ellmeier, 2003).

and the term ‘entrepreneurial cultural worker’ was identified in an European study on the job potential of the cultural sector (Bude, 2000; MKW et al., 2001).

For Bude the move towards the entrepreneurial worker is one that involves asserting oneself independently of the norms of a particular profession or as Ellmeier puts it in her assessment:

“What counts, first and foremost, is not so much the profession learned, but the skills, abilities and in particular the flexibility one has to offer to get a job under post-fordist preconditions” (Ellmeier, 2003, p.10).

In the UK, for example, a desire to meet some of the professional needs of cultural workers was recognised as far back as 1987. At that time a Higher Education initiative was launched to bring about changes in curricula with the aim of increasing arts students’ commercial awareness and improving their work-related skills (Burns, 2007). This was based on the observation made in a number of studies that graduates in artistic or creative disciplines were more likely to become self-employed, set up businesses or undertake freelance work (Richards, 2006; Burns, 2007). Similarly in Germany today the ‘Initiative Kultur- und Kreativwirtschaft’ programme includes projects aimed at equipping artists and performers with more commercial skills (FAZ, 2010).

However, the use of blanket terms like ‘cultural sector’, ‘creative industry’ or ‘entrepreneur’ to describe all artistic endeavours, from the crafts to the performing arts ‘misrecognises’ the differences between specific forms of artistic or creative activity and reduces their intent to one primarily governed by commercial imperatives.

It is such gradual commoditisation of culture that is seen to underpin many of the neo-liberal arts policies implemented by, for example, the Australian, Canadian and New Zealand administrations. Whereas these governments have tended to be more consequent in their adoption of commercial language and business practices, e.g. in Australia there has been a trend towards the tendering of services rather than direct grant allocation amongst arts organizations³⁸, the UK government has attempted a more subtle approach by adopting a social democratic rhetoric that combines the benefits of social equality with market principles. Similar trends are visible in Germany’s approach to cultural policy, but are mediated through a fundamentally positive cultural tradition that avoids an overt emphasis on the ‘economic advantage’

³⁸ Source: J. Caust, 2003, p.57.

argument and instead maintains a view of the arts succinctly described by the German Minister for Culture as recently as November 2012 as “an indispensable investment in the future of our society.”³⁹

6.3. UK Cultural Policy and Institutions: Developments since World War II

A utilitarian perspective of the arts is not new in the UK: since the Second World War successive British governments have struggled to define clear policies on the arts and provide a definitive position on the role of the arts in UK society. However, in the immediate post-World War II years an optimistic approach to the arts was adopted, partly in recognition of the contribution that tours of artists, musicians and dancers had made during the war through the Committee for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA). Its successor, the Arts Council of Great Britain (ACGB) was set up in 1946 with the purpose to ensure support for arts activities that would otherwise not survive on their own in a purely commercial environment⁴⁰. At that time only three dance organizations received support, all of them ballet companies⁴¹. Contemporary dance was left to rely on a variety of autonomous ‘outsiders’, many from the continent such as Rudolf Laban. Although most art forms experienced increased support and funding throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s dance remained relatively poorly funded in comparison with its interests represented by a Dance Theatre Sub-Committee of the Music Panel. Modern or contemporary dance remained less visible up until the 1960s when visits by leading American companies prompted a renewed interest (Rowell, 2000, p.203).

³⁹ Source: <http://www.bundespresseportal.de/bundesmeldungen/item/6274-kulturstaatsminister>
Published 9 November 2012. Translated from the German by the author.

⁴⁰ CEMA was formally set up by Royal Charter in 1940. From its beginning, there were two distinct schools of thought about its mission. Dr Thomas Jones, an ex-cabinet Secretary to Lloyd George, led the first approach. Jones saw CEMA as a similar scheme to improve national morale during wartime. CEMA directly provided culture to the regions by promoting theatre and concert tours by national companies, provided artists with employment, and emphasized local participation and the contributions made by amateur groups. Jones' enthusiasm for the local and amateur was balanced by others on the committee, especially John Maynard Keynes, who believed CEMA, and later the Arts Council, should fund the 'best', rather than the 'most'. Keynes became Chair of CEMA in 1941, and his views would remain in the ascendant until the 1960s.
Source: <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/who-we-are/history-arts-council/1940-45/>.

⁴¹ Ballet Rambert, Ballet Jooss and Sadler's Wells Theatre Ballet.

With the election of the Tory Government in 1979 under Margaret Thatcher and the creation of the National Audit Office in the early 1980s funding for the arts came under scrutiny. New performance indicators were defined that prioritised economy, efficiency and effectiveness and forced the arts sector in the UK to view itself as a part of a national cultural industry and showed how ambivalent the attitude of policy makers was to the arts in the UK:

“When, however, the former Controller of BBC Radio 3, Nicholas Kenyon observed in 1998 that ‘the tension between highbrow culture and popular culture and the cost of what we do and the number of people who use it’ has changed little over fifty years, he exposed the distance still to go before the arts have an assured place in Britain” (Tusa, 2000, p. 21-22).

Even the title of some Government departments reflected the gradual conflation of intrinsic concepts like ‘heritage’ and ‘arts’ with a broader, more extrinsic interpretation of what comprised ‘culture’. In 1992 the Conservative administration reorganised the Department of National Heritage (DNH) to include the former Ministries for the Arts and for Sport. In 1997, a few months after the New Labour government was elected the DNH was renamed as the ‘Department for Culture, Media and Sport’ (DCMS).

Although slightly mitigated by the cultural policy objectives formulated by the UK Labour Party government during the early years of its administration (1997 to 2000) and articulated in the context of social-market aims, the notion of an economic contribution by the arts continued to be foregrounded as a response to the prevalence of globalization discourses⁴². This resulted in the grouping of most forms of cultural and creative activity under the umbrella of a ‘creative industry’, defined in the UK by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and the Creative Industries Task Force (CITF) (DCMS & CITF, 1998: 3) as:

“Those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property.”⁴³

⁴² Globalization discourses describe a tendency for economic, political and social processes and relations to operate on an increasingly global scale (Fairclough, 2003, p.217), but also depict globalization as essentially a process that brings about economic progress.

⁴³ DCMS includes 13 sectors in its definition of creative industry. These are advertising, architecture, arts and antiques, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, performing arts,

The 'Creative Industries' (CI) discourse promulgated throughout the Labour administration not only attached a distinctly economic value to many areas of the arts and crafts sector, but also insisted that cultural resources should not just benefit elites, performers and audiences, but should be made more freely and easily available to societal groups who would not ordinarily participate either as audiences or performers in artistic or creative activity. In comparison, the CI discourse in Germany was more muted, tempered by the federated, relatively autonomous organization of cultural activity.

Concern about the increasing instrumentality of cultural policy was raised early on about the course that the arts were expected to undertake under Labour:

"Although the precise meaning is unclear, there is never a doubt as to what the new language intends. The artistic director, who is concerned only with the merit of his work, when he hears that he must tackle social exclusion, knows he is being warned. Perhaps he is thinking too much about art and not enough about The People"⁴⁴(Ryan, 2001, p.117).

More and more public art was used as a means not only to reflect, but also to promote the regeneration of deprived areas (Appleton, 2006). As the London 2012 Olympics approached the subordination of the arts to non-artistic objectives became clearer in the juxtaposition of previously much more loosely linked terms:

"The Olympics will provide an opportunity like no other to showcase not just sports, but also arts and culture. The investment is not just in sport and the regeneration of east London but also in the cultural Olympiad" (Jowell, 2007).⁴⁵

Such discrimination against the arts caused many in the UK cultural sector to question Labour's neo-liberal attitude towards cultural policy. John Tusa, the then managing director of the Barbican Centre in London, challenged the need to constantly act as advocate for the arts as if:

publishing, software and computer services & TV and radio. First published in *Art for All? Their Policies and our Culture* (eds. Wallinger & Warnock, 2000). London: Peer.

⁴⁵ [Accessed 23 April 2007]: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/6583657.stm>

“...there was something specially problematical about doing so, as if funding the arts is irrational or even unnatural” (Tusa, 2007).

For observers like Gray the problem lies in a change in the basis for cultural and arts policies in the first place. He views the development of policy attachment strategies as:

“...a clear consequence of the choices that are made by political actors in the conditions of structural weakness that are associated with the cultural and arts sectors, but the increasing use of it only makes sense within a context where the justifications for policy have themselves shifted (see also Craik 2005 on this point). The increasing determination of governments to demand particular forms of justification for continuing to spend money on arts and cultural policies indicates that views about these policies have changed. The dominant forms of justification that are increasingly demanded by governments are, firstly, economic and, secondly, social in orientation” (Gray, 2007, p.206).

More recently, as pressure on government funding has increased the polemic surrounding the extrinsic and intrinsic value of the arts and its measurability has become more urgent. In their 2011 Royal Society for the Arts (RSA) pamphlet *Arts Funding, Austerity and the Big Society: Remaking the case for the arts*, Knell and Taylor argue that:

“We need to reinvent and strengthen instrumentalism, breaking through some of the messy compromises and anaemic logic models that underpin the overall rationale for arts funding” (Knell & Taylor, 2011, pp.8-9).

Such statements legitimate instrumentalism in cultural funding by arguing simply that it is the arguments that have hitherto not been convincing enough rather than the underlying logic being at fault. This was reinforced in the UK Culture Secretary’s address to the heads of various arts organizations at the British Museum on 24th April 2013.⁴⁶ This contrasts with the comments made by Bernd Neumann, the Federal Minister for Culture, in November 2012,

⁴⁶ Source: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/testing-times-fighting-cultures-corner-in-an-age-of-austerity>. [Accessed 29 April 2013].

when he stated that, in spite of the need to make savings in government budgets:

“Aid for the arts is not a subsidy, rather an indispensable investment in the future of our society.”⁴⁷

Against this background we examine in the following section the specific trajectory of UK dance policy since the early 1990s, the institutions tasked with governing the sector and the implications of the logics emerging from policy texts.

6.3.1. UK Dance Policy and Institutions

The gradual expansion in dance activity in the UK led to the founding of a dedicated Dance Advisory Committee and in 1980, a Dance Panel linked directly to the Arts Council. Various organizations were established or transformed into representative bodies for different sections of the UK dance sector, including what were to become the Foundation for Community Dance and Dance UK. However, by 1989 the extent to which dance as a sector and profession, primarily contemporary dance, had been left behind in terms of significant structural support was articulated very clearly by Graham Devlin in his seminal publication *Stepping Forward for the Arts Council England* when he referred to:

“...a deeply demoralised and nervous profession. The concerns thus articulated resonate through every scale and almost every style of work—the belief that there is a creative crisis in British dance, for example, or that much contemporary work has lost contact with its audience” (Devlin, 1989).

The report was written in the face of the gradual decline of large-scale mainstream British contemporary dance. Devlin found that audiences for the major contemporary dance companies, London Contemporary Dance Theatre and Rambert Dance Company, had declined by a third during the early eighties, and 1985-86 saw a further alarming decrease. Furthermore, contemporary

⁴⁷ Source: <http://www.bundespresseportal.de/bundesmeldungen/item/6274-kulturstaatsminister>. Published 9th November 2012. Translated from the German by the author.

dance works were generally regarded as elitist, inaccessible, cool and passionless. The report called for a radical reassessment and suggested there was a void in the dance spectrum, with a gap in middle-scale dance companies offering acknowledged quality and a distinctive identity.⁴⁸ As a response to this trend, National Dance Agencies were established to strengthen the dance infrastructure and facilitate artistic activities.⁴⁹

Devlin's report set out a long-term policy vision for dance, focused on developing a "healthy dance ecology".⁵⁰ It proposed a ten-year strategy designed to support and establish dance within the artistic life of the nation and called for a radical reassessment of the dance spectrum, suggesting that there was a gap in middle-scale dance companies offering acknowledged quality and a distinctive identity.⁵¹ Amongst the recommendations made were that the Dance Panel of the Arts Council of England should adopt a more strategic role; that more attention be placed on an audience rather than artist-centred approach to resource allocation and that dialogue with the Department of Education should be advanced "to clarify the parameters of educational policy from both sides".⁵²

The Policy for Dance of the English Arts Funding System,⁵³ published in 1996 by ACE specified more clearly the purpose, context, principles and

⁴⁸ Graham Devlin (1989) Ibid.

⁴⁹ The nine English National Dance Agencies (NDA's) form the membership of Association of National Dance Agencies (ANDA). Each agency is based in a different regional arts board area: Birmingham, Cheshire, Newcastle, Nottingham, Leeds, London, Suffolk and Swindon. Individual NDAs act autonomously in response to their own remits and the contexts in which they operate. ANDA brings together NDAs - focal points of the dance infrastructure - from across England, allowing for the development of a vibrant and diverse range of dance activities with a cohesive national significance. ANDA exists as a forum for discussion and allows for an exchange of information and networking. ANDA acts as a mutual support group and a think-tank to contribute to the national debate on dance. More information is available at <http://www.anda.org.uk/home.html>.

⁵⁰ Graham Devlin (1989) *Stepping Forward*, Arts Council of England. At the end of 1988 Graham Devlin was commissioned by the Arts Council's Dance Department to undertake research into the future of dance, resulting in the report. Rapidly changing patterns in both participation in dance and attendance at dance performances during the 1970s and early 1980s had led to concerns to devise a strategy to ensure the future of professional dance in Britain. This report is based on extensive research and consultation with dance artists, managers, teachers and activists across the country. It takes a radical and coherent view of dance and its development. It lays the foundation for the growth of contemporary dance, a sharper focus on the needs of artists and the establishment of the National Dance Agencies.

⁵¹ Graham Devlin (1989) Ibid.

⁵² Source: http://www.australiacouncil.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0013/34033/09_international.pdf [Accessed 7 July 2013].

⁵³ Arts Council of England (1996) *The Policy for Dance of the English Arts Funding System*. Available at <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/news/publicationsindex.html?Dance.html>.

priority areas of the dance policy. This report was primarily concerned with “dance as a professional art” with a vision that dance is “to be recognised and supported in all its diversity and throughout the country as a challenging, relevant and enriching art form.”⁵⁴ The purpose of the policy was:

“...to provide the framework within which various elements of the funding system can develop action plans to meet specific local, regional and national needs.”⁵⁵

Additionally, the policy was to focus on:

“...the improved status and welfare of the dancers; support for creativity; the recognition of the importance of knowledgeable promoters and audiences; the establishment of networks of spaces for dance creation and presentation.”⁵⁶

These objectives placed artistic creativity and the professional dancer at the centre of policy. In the later 2004 House of Commons (HC 587-I) report this focus became more diluted in the sense that at least equal importance was attached to non-artistic objectives of accessibility and healthy living in addition to artistic excellence.

Since then many reviews have been commissioned to chart the development of the sector and make further recommendations for improving the prospects of all dance professionals in the UK. Some of the most noteworthy include Linda Jasper and Jeanette Siddall’s 1999 book *Managing Dance: Current Issues and Future Strategies*, Siddall’s 2001 *21st Century Dance*, the 2004 House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee report entitled *Arts Development: Dance (HC 587-I)* and Burns. S. & Harrison, S.’s 2009 report *Dance mapping: A window on dance 2004-2008*.

Today responsibility for promoting the interests of dance in the UK lies with several organizations, including policy makers, funding bodies, teaching bodies and performance professionals as illustrated in Table 6.1, illustrating both the heterogeneity and complexity of the governance and structure of the dance field:

⁵⁴ Arts Council of England (1996) Ibid., p.4.

⁵⁵ Arts Council of England (1996) Ibid., p.2.

⁵⁶ Arts Council of England (1996) Ibid., p.4.

Organization	Description
Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS)	UK Government department responsible for cultural policy setting and oversight
Arts Council England (ACE)	Strategic funding body for UK culture and arts
National and regional dance agencies	National and regionally- based organizations responsible for delivery of dance-based activities, e.g. Foundation for Community Dance and Dance UK
Dance companies	Funded and independent dance organizations, e.g. The Place – UK’s premier centre for contemporary dance creation, performance and education; Sadlers Wells – a major London-based performing arts organization focused on staging UK and international dance events
Dance schools and training establishments	The Place – The UK’s premier centre for contemporary dance Trinity Laban – the UK’s only conservatoire for music and contemporary dance
Dance festivals	Dance Umbrella – internationally renowned annual contemporary dance festival

Table 6.1: UK Dance Policy, Funding And Delivery Organizations

The renewed focus on dance has helped to encourage a significant increase in the number of new companies and audiences during the 1990s. The National Dance Agencies (NDA) that were established regionally now provide information and facilitate artistic activities across the sector.⁵⁷ Moreover, the Regional Arts Boards (RABs), ten independent bodies with charitable status which, together with the Arts Council of England, the Crafts Council and the British Film Institute, make up the national arts funding system have also played a major policy role in shaping the development of the dance sector in tandem with the NDAs.

6.3.2 UK Dance Pillars and Platforms

Dance organizations and festivals in the UK today have a distinct purpose in promoting dance by giving professional dancers and choreographers the chance to experience live performance and experiment by staging works in professionally managed environments. Although some organizations and festivals stage their works independently of public subsidies the vast majority

⁵⁷ National Dance Agencies are regionally based. They include Dance 4, Dance City, DanceEast, Dance Northwest, The Dance Xchange, The Place, South East Dance, Swindon Dance, and Yorkshire Dance Centre.

tend to receive most of their funding from the ACE in order to commission, stage and perform works on a regular basis.

The origins of many of the UK's festivals reflect the enthusiasm and energy that was generated during the late 1960s and 1970s when influences from the US and the emerging New Dance movement in the UK encouraged artists to create dedicated events for dancers and choreographers in order to share experiences and develop techniques. ADMA, Dartington Hall and Dance Umbrella were the three major dance festivals of the period, each with a distinct perspective on dance. ADMA and Dartington were founded by artists themselves and were largely non-selective. Both were intended more as showcase events for performers and students alike, with classes and workshops running in parallel with performances. The quality of performances varied considerably since neither applied a selection process to participants.

With the founding of Dance Umbrella in 1978 the contemporary dance sector received a welcome boost from the cultural establishment in response to a need amongst dancers and choreographers for:

“...proper presentation and management, and of a fast-growing dance audience for exposure to important contemporary work by foreign and UK artists” (Murray, [cited in Jordan, 1992, p.95]).

In other words Dance Umbrella was created by the Arts Council and by arts administrators to provide a much more internationally-oriented platform for contemporary dance and its performers and choreographers in the UK. It was also intended to facilitate improvements in the quality and ambition of British artists who had been relatively isolated from their peers in the rest of Europe and the US until then. Consequently Umbrella was highly selective from the beginning with its funding dependent to an extent on its British performers already being eligible for ACE or regional funding. This helped to legitimate the festival in a way that the politically inspired ADMA and the relaxed, familial format of Dartington were not able to achieve in the view of cultural policy makers. There was some resentment amongst ADMA members about the favouritism shown to Dance Umbrella. Not only did the latter receive generous funding, but it appeared to ignore more political works from the British New Dance movement in favour of the type of abstract work that was typical of American work of the time. Indeed, with the demise of the ADMA

festival after 1978 there were suggestions that Dance Umbrella had been conceived primarily as a replacement for it, with a focus on developing audiences for modern or new dance rather than supporting artists in their efforts to experiment and innovate. However, the failure of ADMA was, in the wake of the drastic public sector reforms and cuts in funding under Margaret Thatcher's government, not such a great surprise. In an attempt to make sense of these changes later observers did suggest that it appeared to foreshadow:

“...the ethos of the 1980s when increasingly, for their survival, artists had to weigh what they wanted for themselves against external demands. A much more market-led era was about to begin” (Jordan, 1992, p.102).

Nonetheless, despite modest beginnings as a showcase for emerging choreographers, Dance Umbrella's annual London festival now ranks highly among Europe's leading international dance festivals and the organization is recognised as one of Britain's most adventurous dance promoters presenting an annual festival as well as regional tours from overseas companies.⁵⁸

One of the most prominent organizations involved in professional contemporary dance training, performance and promotion is The Place, based in London near Euston station. Other dance schools and conservatoires exist in both the private and public sectors covering the whole spectrum of classical, modern and popular dance genres with the best-known schools such as Elmhurst and the Royal Ballet School being supported through the eligibility of their pupils for schemes such as the Music and Dance Scheme and the Dance and Drama Awards. Vocational training is available at both conservatoires and universities, whereby the latter also offer training that enables students to take up non-performing careers such as teaching. Community dance is another very popular form, which provides non-professionals with the opportunity to dance and experience specific benefits from doing so such as well-being and health.

Having provided some contextual insight into the UK's dance landscape we now examine the rhetoric used in the core UK policy text HC-587-I to promote three key logics that variously affect the teaching, creation and performance of dance.

⁵⁸ Source: Dance Umbrella web site. [Accessed August 2009].

6.3.3 UK Dance Policy Initiatives – House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee, 2004. Arts Development: Dance (HC 587-I)

In this section we examine how a government policy-related text that was commissioned to assess the state of dance in the UK served to privilege extrinsic logics in the UK dance sector by applying rhetorical strategies that had been imported from other policy areas.

With the universal decline in alternative ways of satisfying people's need for ideological grounding, such as religion and politics and the rise in a consumer-oriented society that is both wealthier and better educated than its predecessors, the arts and culture have assumed a much more prominent role in society generally. One of the aspects of this change has been the recognition of the economic value of the arts, for instance the juxtaposition of the words 'creative' and 'industries', though not without the potential to confuse and defy definition, does indicate the ability of cultural ideas to influence beyond traditional boundaries (Matarasso, 2009). However, many areas of the cultural sector, particularly those dependent on public subsidies, such as contemporary dance are exposed not only to the 'market', but must also fulfil various social and welfare policy objectives.

Several publications commissioned by the ACE during the 1990s and early 2000s pressed for the dance sector to do more to ensure the future of dance in an increasingly commercially-oriented environment. These included Jeannette Siddall's 21st Century Dance commissioned by the ACE's Dance Advisory Panel and published in 2001:

"It briefly documents the recent history of dance into the new millennium, provides a situational analysis, looks forward to urging those who work in, enjoy or support dance to anticipate the future and concludes with a vision for investing in the future-readiness of dance" (Siddall, 2001, p. iii).

By 2004 there was an even clearer acknowledgement that despite advances in the status and of role in dance in the UK since the publication of the seminal report by Graham Devlin in 1989, its position relative to other art forms in the Creative Industries' debate was still a marginal one. Consequently an inquiry was commissioned whose terms of reference requested:

“...information and opinions on the current state of the dance economy; the effect of public investment on the dance sector; and dance and young people in relation to education and opportunities for progression within the sector” (HC 587-I, 2004, p.5).

The resulting report, entitled the House of Commons Select Committee Report on Arts Development: Dance (HC 587-I), Sixth Report of Session 2003-04, Volume 1, effectively served as a de facto policy document for UK dance for subsequent initiatives launched by ACE. Supplemented by the Government Response to the Select Committee Report on Arts Development: Dance (HC 587) published in September 2004, the themes highlighted in the two documents, namely *excellence*, *access* and *contribution to healthy living* formed a consistent focus for subsequent policy-related initiatives and publications.

Whilst praising the progress that had been made and the success of dance in diversifying to include many different genres the Committee highlighted several issues facing the dance sector. These took account of the need to support other Government objectives, not necessarily linked to artistic objectives, such as healthy living and crime reduction. The key text where these objectives were introduced was in the address by the then Minister for the Arts, DCMS, Estelle Morris on the Government’s policy on dance (HC 587-I, p.13, § 20):

“The Government’s policy I think is three-fold. Firstly, to cherish excellence and to make sure as a nation that we maintain our record and our reputation of having excellent dance companies. I suppose in shorthand you might say that is the art, excellence, to make sure we support what there is there. Secondly, I think our job is to work with the Department for Education and Skills in particular, and other organizations, to make sure that everybody has access to dance from that very first experience, making sure that every child at some point during their school years or their early years experiences dance, and making sure that for those who want to there is a pathway through. Whether that pathway leads to the excellence end of the scale or whether it just leads to adulthood where they continue to do dance is up to them. Thirdly, I think this is increasingly something that we are talking about in the Department, to work with a range of departments across Whitehall to maximise the contribution of dance to healthy

living. I see those three areas – excellence, access and the contribution to healthy living – as I suppose the three-pronged approach that Government has to dance.”

In this key introductory text a balance was maintained between the intrinsic logic of artistic excellence and Labour’s social-market paradigm. Principally ethical and emotional arguments were used in support of the government position on dance. However, the strength of the connection created between dance and other areas of policy was shown with varying degrees of emphasis in subsequent sections. For example, although the notion of ‘excellence’ was the first policy element to be mentioned it had a passive quality. The tone was positive, but the use of the adjectives such as “cherish” and “support” suggested nothing more than maintaining the status quo as the Government sought to “maintain” its current record and reputation. In contrast the rhetoric on accessibility and healthy living was more dynamic and more explicit in both description and aim. For example, the Minister declared in her introduction the intention for the DCMS to collaborate with other Whitehall departments to “...maximise the contribution of dance to healthy living”.

The three themes of *excellence*, *access* and the *contribution to healthy living* that frame the entire House of Commons report are logics that had, until this point, either existed independently or been associated with policy objectives originating from other government departments. Artistic excellence had traditionally resided with the DCMS and its arm’s length body, the national strategic development agency for the arts, Arts Council England (ACE), whilst social inclusion and healthy living were associated with the Home Office as well as the Departments of Education and Skills and Health (DfES)⁵⁹.

Although responsibility for ‘nurturing excellence and stimulating innovation’ rested with ACE, the DCMS and the DfES were tasked with providing access and creating pathways for progression as a result of having direct control over funding and bigger budgets (HC 587-I, §21, p.13). This was an interesting distinction, because dance (outside theatrical dance shows) is largely dependent on public sector funding. By associating funding more with

⁵⁹ DfES existed between 2001 and 2007 and was split in 2010 into The [Department for Children, Schools and Families](#) and the [Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills](#).

the policy theme ‘access’ than with ‘excellence’, we inferred that accessibility was actually the more important policy objective.

As these themes were developed in the report, for example, §22 to §25 subtly articulated the primary and secondary funding roles of different bodies and their relative autonomy, it became apparent that although ‘excellence’ was positioned as the lead theme, it was addressed in a more passive way than the other two focussing on ‘access’ and ‘healthy living’. Furthermore, the role of funding appeared to be an important means of delineating the three themes.

The discussion surrounding the ‘dance economy’, which comprised approximately one third of the content of the report, encompassed historical funding profiles and current (at the time of publication) funding models, and was a pivotal one. It highlighted both the dance sector’s dependence on subsidies and the objective to replace state funding support with other sources. The funding debate elicited a variety of responses from contributors to the inquiry’s report, primarily rational and ethical ones that hinged on arguing in favour of a more balanced distribution of funds and an overall increase in funding levels (HC 587-I, p.28, §70). Conversely the recommendations emphasised the need to locate alternative sources of funds within government as well as to increase commercial sponsorship and box office takings for dance events overall; effectively introducing a discourse highlighting a commercially-oriented logic aimed at augmenting the profiles and skills of staff working in the dance sector with more business competence:

“It is important that more staff time and resources are given over to emphasising the appeal and benefits of dance in order to attract funding from a greater variety of sources. The evidence we received suggested that many of the people employed, or volunteering, in the sector do not necessarily have the administrative and other skills required to carry out much of the work involved in applying for funding and attracting sponsorship” (HC 587-I, 2004, §73, p.28).

The means by which this was to be achieved was to allocate more time and effort in marketing dance (§73, pp.28-29) and to invest more in the training of staff in business development skills. These recommendations indicated that overall a more commercial, business-oriented approach should be taken towards the UK dance sector generally.

In section 6.5 Dance Policy Discourses in the UK we demonstrate how the logics of excellence, access and healthy living were appropriated into discourses that exploited the lack of a consistent identity for dance and challenged the autonomy of the performer-choreographer by marginalizing the artistic-aesthetic definition of dance in order to legitimise alternative forms of dance practice.

6.3.4 Summary and Discussion

In the UK the ambivalent attitude and instrumental approach to culture generally and the emergence of rival theories to Bourdieu's cultural reproduction theories has tended to dilute the understanding of the value of 'high art' and made minority art forms like dance particularly vulnerable to the vicissitudes of cultural policy making, especially where there is significant dependence on public funding.

Dance's early association with sport and physical fitness in the UK and a hierarchical, differentiated perspective of dance based on social and historical attitudes towards the different genres has resulted in a lack of a clear and consistent view of the role of dance in the UK. Thus, the role of a government inquiry or policy and the institutions that are responsible for its articulation and dissemination in a field like dance are especially important in establishing the framework within which field participants will operate for the foreseeable future.

The contested definition and role of dance has made it susceptible to 'policy attachment', a device by which policy sectors with limited or low priority political influence are obliged to meet their objectives by emphasising their contribution to the achievement of more "worthy", socio-political aims (Gray, 2002, 2007; Belfiore, 2006). Several independent reviews describing issues facing the UK dance sector (Devlin, 1989) and funding policies for dance (ACE, 1996) preceded the publication of the core policy text Arts Development: Dance (HC 587-I) by the House of Commons Committee for Culture, Media and Sport in 2004. However, these earlier documents represented strategies intended for dance as an art form, whilst the 2004 inquiry was firmly embedded in the 'Third Way' and Creative Industries'

ideology promulgated by the New Labour administration under Tony Blair. Under Labour's 'Third Way' social-market policies were endorsed as a way to manage publicly subsidised services more efficiently, whereas the Creative Industries' discourse promoted the potential for a distinct economic contribution from the arts and crafts sectors in the UK.

In the government inquiry into dance, HC 587-I, these objectives were characterised by a framework of recommendations based on three core themes, namely, excellence, access to dance and the contribution of dance to healthy living. All three themes were reinforced by rhetoric that variously articulated rational, ethical or emotional arguments for supporting dance, but with varying degrees of emphasis. Again this reflected the priorities set in other government departments such as the Department of Health Department for Education and Skills and the issue of dance's definition as being either an art form or a multi-disciplinary physical and social activity (HC 587-I, 2004, p.20).

The tension arising from the contested definition of dance resulted in subtle role changes amongst many of the parties involved in the funding, teaching, production and performance of dance. Insurgent extrinsic logics foregrounding commercial experience and capabilities emerged that exploited the ambiguity of the role of dance and obliged organizations to comply with the more dominant social-market logic in order to remain eligible for funding. Strategic funding agencies such as the Arts Council England (ACE) were no longer simply strategic enablers, supporting the producers of dance works and events in the pursuit of excellence, but were required to use their resources to develop a wider, more diverse audience for dance and the arts in general by developing assessment frameworks and introducing business planning cycles reminiscent of the commercial sector (ACE, 2010⁶⁰; Caust, 2003, p.58). Equally many dance companies became progressively more involved in educational programmes as a means to secure funding (Castle et al., 2002), as well as being encouraged to develop or foster business competencies such as fund-raising and sponsorship. Both The Place and Dance Umbrella incorporated events into their schedules, such as The Place's LearnPhysical initiative and Dance Umbrella's free-to-view performances, intended to attract

⁶⁰Source: The relationship between Arts Council England and its regularly funded organizations, 2010.

lay audiences and young people as a means of satisfying the cultural agenda on education and access.

The funding debate for dance generated by the House of Commons report was a form of ‘pedagogy’ and a pivotal one for the dance sector. Pedagogic practice is a Bourdieuan mechanism of compliance, and in the case of dance new funding frameworks and applications processes were used to displace the taken-for-grantedness of existing subsidy models with arguments in favour of alternative practices. The nomination of these alternatives, in the context of the report and through its inclusion of a wide variety of actors and organizations from the dance sector in the debate, served to legitimate not only the political discourse, but also the process by which the discourse was actually generated since it diminished:

“...the possibility of resisting because the process appears neutral and normal – “technical”. Although pedagogy may be imported or imposed externally, it almost certainly actively involves members of the field” (Oakes et al., 1998, p.272).

Subsequent efforts to comply with the alternative funding discourse inevitably led to further rhetorical and discursive strategies being employed by participants in the dance field, the nature and form depending on their position and the resources, i.e. forms of capital available to them. These strategies were variously deployed to establish or enhance the legitimacy of actors, define or reinforce organizational identities as well as to introduce new vocabularies that served to change or adapt the meaning of competencies. All these measures had the objective of making areas of the dance field previously dominated by the professional choreographer-performer more accessible to other types of dance practitioner such as animateurs or community dancers.

6.4 German Cultural Policy and Institutions: Developments since WW2

After WWII cultural policy initiatives formulated by the West German administration attended to re-establishing an intrinsic, ‘art for art’s sake’ conceptualisation of the arts. This was seen as an attempt to distance culture from the legacy of the Nazi regime and its wilful re-interpretation and

manipulation of culture for ideological purposes. Thus the Federal Republic focussed on:

“...the mediation of the German and European traditions of high culture in music, drama, literature and art and the rebuilding of the cultural infrastructure...” (Burns & van der Will, 2003, p.141).

The responsibility for cultural policy articulation and implementation based on these ideals was enshrined in the constitution of the newly created federal states and delegated further to the regions and municipal bodies in each state (Burns and van der Will, 2003). This also affected dance and resulted in a strong emphasis on classical ballet as the main dance form. However, the debate over the role of culture and its relative value to society in general began to gather pace during the late 1960s when the student protest movements throughout Europe encouraged previously accepted norms to be re-evaluated and triggered a fundamental review of social and cultural policy areas.

This trend was reinforced by a major development in the early 1970s when the German Foreign Office called for a radical re-alignment of cultural policy, insisting that it become more integrated with the concerns of civil society and mirror those concerns in new ways. This was taken up wholeheartedly at the municipal level, most enthusiastically by cultural policy makers in Frankfurt and Nuremberg, who began to view culture more dynamically, as a source of communicative practices and not just as a medium for content dissemination and appreciation. This reassessment of the role of culture resulted in huge increases in public spending on the arts during the 1980s and 1990s with the result that politicians began to refer to the Federal Republic as a *Kulturstaat* (English: Cultural State) and one associated:

“...with the values of individual freedom and social pluralism, high-quality life-style and cultural representation finding vociferous advocates in all party-political camps” (Burns & van der Will, 2003, p.143).

It was during this era that choreographers like Pina Bausch and Johann Kresnik came to the fore as proponents of a much more overtly political and social polemic that both benefited from the generosity of state support, but also claimed the right to criticise social and political norms as part of their artistic autonomy.

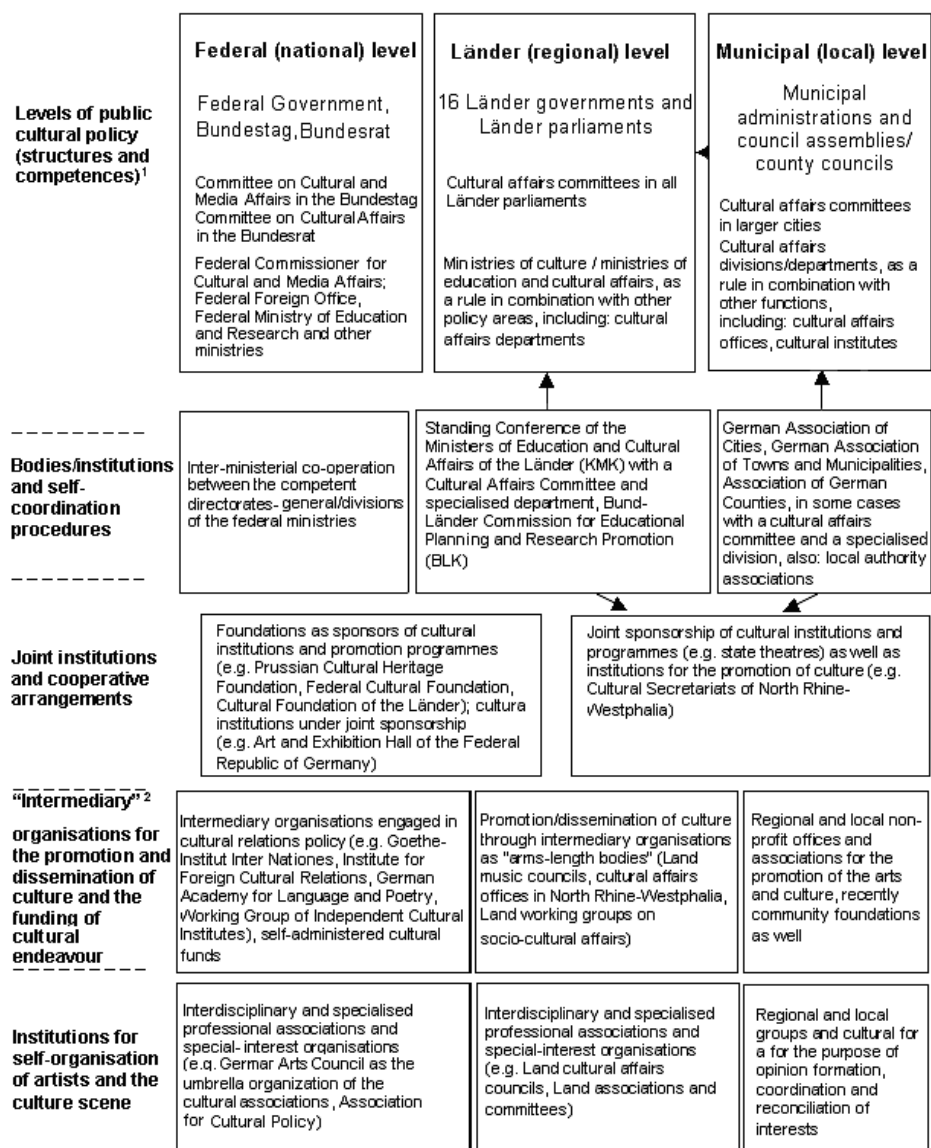
6.4.1 German Dance Policy and Institutions

In the case of German cultural policy making it is not the federal government that devolves decision-making authority to the Länder; it already exists as part of the constitution of the states themselves. A multiplicity of institutions is involved in cultural policy development for the performing arts Germany and this also applies to the development and implementation of dance-related policies.

Several cultural bureaucracies operate at a federal level such as the *German Cultural Council* (Deutscher Kulturrat), the *Cultural Foundation of the Länder* (Kulturstiftung der Länder) and the *Federal Cultural Foundation* (Kulturstiftung des Bundes), but no single body is responsible for the overall co-ordination of cultural policy initiatives and programmes across the federal authorities. The Cultural Council is an important lobby and pressure group comprising some 200 organizations that are grouped into eight sub-councils including performing arts, music, socio-culture and cultural education. One of the Council's main objectives is to help to define a more distinct split of responsibilities for cultural policy between the federal and the state governments. It was the Kulturstiftung des Bundes, founded in 2002, which sponsored the *Tanzplan Deutschland* initiative. Both cultural foundations (Länder and Bund) exercise a national co-ordination role and are tasked with finding alternative (to public subsidy) sources of finance (Burns & van der Will, 2003).

Figure 6.1⁶¹ shows the overarching governance structure for cultural policy making at a federal, regional and municipal level. The Article 28(2) of the Grundgesetz or German Constitution guarantees the rights of municipalities to manage their cultural affairs autonomously of both the Federal Government and of the Bundesland of Federal State in which the municipality resides:

⁶¹ Source: <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/germany.php?aid=81>, p.4.



- 1) Under the Basic Law, the municipalities are part of the Länder. They are furthermore guaranteed the right (Article 28 [2] of the Basic Law) to regulate all local affairs on their own responsibility, in other words, to also voluntarily and autonomously take decisions concerning the cultural affairs of the local community.
- 2) The concept of "intermediary" is very broadly interpreted here because the spectrum of private-law organisations that sponsor "public" cultural institutions, implement cultural programmes or distribute funds for cultural activities and institutions is very heterogeneous and all exhibit a varying degree of proximity to the state.

Figure 6.1: Overview Of The Governance Structure For Cultural Affairs In Germany

Co-ordination of activities between the federal government and the states is also managed through bodies such as the *Commission of the Federal Government and the Länder for the Planning of Education and Finance of Research* (Bund-Länder-Kommission für Bildungsplanung und Forschungsförderung). The aim is to promote culture at a national and EU level and to look for alternatives to public sector funding. Such is the strength of the Länder in cultural matters that although the Federal Government may lead consultations at EU level, the Länder nevertheless reserve the right to be represented by their own special delegate (Burns and van der Will, 2003). Co-operation at a European level continues to develop and during the German

presidency of the EU in 2007 three major cultural policy congresses were staged in Berlin and Essen on the Culture Industries, challenging cultural policy across Europe to make more effective use of its resources and cultural diversity⁶².

At a regional or municipal level performing arts organizations are usually run by directors who have been appointed by the state or city council. Ensembles comprise staff on permanent contracts as well as short-term contracts. The repertoire is large, typically consisting of several, not necessarily commercially attractive, pieces. Although he or she is responsible for financial management as well as programming decisions, the director's main objective is to gain a high profile amongst a peer group of fellow artists through the staging of 'high quality' performances (Krebs & Pommerehne, 1995). Budgets and individual remuneration tend not to be linked to the relative success of programming decisions and there is little need to worry about competition from other local cultural offerings.

Table 6.2 shows the roles played by various federal agencies in promoting the interests of dance in Germany nationally and across Europe. These agencies work with bodies representing regional and municipal teaching, training and performance interests to promote cultural and political interests throughout Germany.

Agency	Description	Role
Deutscher Kulturrat	German Cultural Council	Contact for overarching cultural issues at federal, state and European level. Umbrella organization for 234 institutions
Kulturstiftung der Länder	Cultural Foundation of the Länder	Foundation for the preservation of German cultural heritage
Kulturstiftung des Bundes	Federal Cultural Foundation	Foundation to promote and fund art and culture within the framework of federal responsibility and with an international perspective

Table 6.2: Main German Cultural Agencies And Their Roles

The current German dance landscape is extremely diverse with ca. 60 dance ensembles associated with municipal and state theatres; 1000 independent groups and 10,000 individuals working professionally in the area

⁶² Sources: http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=33524&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html; www.kultur-macht-europa.de; <http://www.unesco.de/2084.html?L=1>. [Accessed June 20 2013].

of artistic dance. Regular funding of approximately euro 100 million p.a. is invested in established dance and theatrical venues whilst ca. euro 10 million p.a. supports independent productions.⁶³ Of the different genres the classical dance sector has been the main focus for institutionalised support and funding since the Second World War. In comparison the contemporary dance field has been underfunded and its recognition as a peer art form alongside drama, music or film theatre has been difficult to establish. This remained the case until a concerted programme of initiatives was launched under the umbrella Tanzplan Deutschland in 2005 to improve the overall infrastructure for dance in Germany covering primarily dance education and training, dance heritage and scholarship.

6.4.2 German Dance Pillars and Platforms

The federated nature of Germany has traditionally meant that finding appropriate vehicles to stage contemporary dance and promote it at a national level has proven difficult to achieve. The autonomy of the federal states and the legacy of Nazi control of cultural politics meant there was an avoidance of national forums and initiatives. Dance festivals did exist, but again the federal structure of the country encouraged festivals to be organised at a local level and this was to remain the case until the 1990s. This autonomous approach to dance was also echoed in the disparate ways dance training, venues and performances were managed at a regional and local level.

One of the most prominent figures on the dance festival scene and who helped to eventually 'nationalise' modern dance initiatives in Germany has been Walter Heun, the founder of Tanzplattform Deutschland. Beginning with festivals including DANCE ENERGY, TANZTAGE staged in Munich he went on to organise the national BRDance festival in 1990. The festival marked an important milestone in the contemporary dance history of Germany, as it was the first time that dance came to the attention of federal cultural representatives. From Heun's perspective BRDance also demonstrated the fact that contemporary dance was a legitimate art form, but unlike other art forms, operated without sustained, public sector funding at regional and federal levels.

⁶³ Source: <http://www.dachverband-tanz.de/intro.html>. [Accessed 6 March 2013].

Heun went on to help create the National Performance Netz (NPN), a collaboration between six German dance organisers aimed at creating a long-term support structure for contemporary dance in Germany. With the premiere of the Tanzplattform festival in 1994 Heun showed that it was possible to ‘federate’ contemporary dance across Germany.

This groundwork was to have an important influence on the organization and focus of the Tanzplan initiative, set up in 2005. Whereas cultural ‘lighthouses’ or beacons (German: kulturelle Leuchttürme) already existed for all the other major art forms such as the visual arts (*documenta*), theatre (*Theatertreffen*) and music (*die Donaueschinger Musiktage*), there was no equivalent for dance (Tanzplan, 2011[8], p.6). However, rather than establish something similar immediately, the Tanzplan initiative took a different, more pragmatic approach: recognising the gaps in co-ordinated structural support throughout Germany it chose to mobilise all areas associated with dance – education and training, production, presentation and scholarship simultaneously and launched a combined programme of initiatives, covering both new projects and additional support for on-going schemes such as NPN and Tanzplattform Deutschland. This approach was the basis for a unique nationwide ‘dance plan’ that co-ordinated activities across all states, regions and municipalities in Germany for the first time since WWII. 12.5 million euros were allocated to fund a number of activities and investments, including the 2006 *Ständige Konferenz Tanz* (Permanent Conference for Dance) dance congress, dance training and development initiatives, the foundation of new festivals for dance, the creation of dedicated web-sites such as www.dance-germany.org, the publication of academic works on dance and its scholarship and the creation of a foundation for dancers in career transition. Supplementary support for the existing national performance network (NPN) as well as numerous initiatives designed to encourage cooperation between federal states and sponsorship of co-productions between German and international artists was also provided.

Although the programme officially finished at the end of 2010 the outcomes of the five-year initiative remain visible in both tangible, e.g. the establishment of the HZT in Berlin and the creation of a digital on-line dance archive (www.digitaler-atlas-tanz.de) and intangible ways, e.g. demands for sustained advocacy at a federal level.

In the next section we assess the Tanzplan Deutschland initiative and its texts in more detail to understand the political motivations behind launching the programme and the rhetoric it used to justify its role as a model for the future cultural and political management of dance in Germany.

6.4.3 German Dance Initiatives: Tanzplan – A National Dance Endeavour

The initiative Tanzplan Deutschland (Dance Plan Germany) was a five-year plan devised by the Federal Cultural Foundation in 2005 to create a sustainable environment for dance in Germany, specifically in the areas of advocacy, dance education and training, sustainability and dance scholarship. The need to create a more permanent infrastructure for dance in Germany and improve its visibility internationally had resulted in a decision to pursue this approach rather than to stage a national festival. The five-year programme was also seen as more likely to stimulate lasting change than a single event, especially in the light of significant variations in existing infrastructure and support for dance across the country at the time. Unlike the UK, where ballet acts as a highly visible focal point for debate about dance in general, Germany has no national ballet and only with the creation of the Tanzplan was a countrywide focus formally established for the profession.

Despite being termed a ‘plan’ the Tanzplan retained an ambiguity about its role and purpose throughout its five-year term, which was reflected in statements made at both its inauguration and in the final summing up document entitled *Tanzplan Deutschland, eine Bilanz* (2011[8]). For example, in an article written for tanznetz.de⁶⁴ at its launch a guest author insisted that:

“Tanzplan Deutschland ist keine Förderinstitution und kein Zentralorgan – vielmehr will das Team im Berliner Büro unter der Leitung von Madeline Ritter ein Netzwerk für den Tanz aufbauen, Anstoß geben, ermutigen und als Anstifter im besten Sinn tätig sein. Ein Schwerpunkt des Programms liegt im Bereich Aus- und

⁶⁴ <http://www.tanznetz.de/tanzszene.phtml?page=showthread&aid=136&tid=9172>. This is an Internet portal for the German dance scene and was established in 1997 to facilitate the exchange of views, reviews and information on all matters concerning dance in Germany and internationally. It is supported through a combination of volunteers, including editorial team, the reviewers and critics who write for free and some revenue from advertising.

Weiterbildung. Es gilt Mitstreiter und Unterstützer zu gewinnen; Künstler und Pädagogen, Politiker in Kommunen, Ländern und Bund, Veranstalter, Ausbildungsstätten und Verbände an einen Tisch zu bringen und sie dort, wo bisher wenig Berührung war, zu neuen Kooperationen zu bewegen. So werden Allianzen geschmiedet zwischen Tanzschaffenden, der Öffentlichkeit und der kommunalen und regionalen Kulturpolitik, damit gute künstlerische und kulturpolitische Ideen auf einer breiteren gesellschaftlichen Basis durchgesetzt werden können.”

Translation: “Tanzplan Germany is not an advocate institution and nor is it a centralised body – rather the Berlin team under the leadership of Madeline Ritter is seeking to create a network for dance, trigger, encourage and act as an instigator, in the best sense of the word. A focus of the programme is in the area of training and further education. It is essential to win comrades-in-arms and supporters; to bring artists and educationalists, municipal, regional and federal politicians, organisers, training establishments and organizations to the table and, where previously few touchpoints existed, to motivate them to co-operate in hitherto unknown ways. In this way alliances will be forged between those who create dance, the public and municipal and regional cultural politicians so that good artistic and cultural-political ideas can be implemented across a broad spectrum of society.”

This statement constructed Tanzplan as an instigator and catalyst with a primary responsibility to encourage the development of a network for dance throughout Germany, not as a policy making unit or national lobby. The text presented ethos- and to a lesser extent, pathos-based arguments to reinforce the basic rationale for the Tanzplan concept in promoting dance in a consistent manner nationally. The ethical argument highlighted Tanzplan’s contribution to education and training, whilst the use of emotive rhetoric referenced the need to win more ‘comrades-in-arms and supporters’ for the cause.

This somewhat cautious, unobtrusive role as instigator can be seen in a critical light and as a response to the lack of a true national identity for dance in Germany. It can also be construed as a legacy of the overtly central control exercised over culture and the arts during the Nazi era.

The apparent reluctance on the part of Tanzplan to be seen as an advocate institution meant that the Ständige Konferenz Tanz played an important part in promoting cultural and political objectives on behalf of Tanzplan during the early years of the programme. As a body comprising a diverse range of dance-related interests,⁶⁵ encompassing both classical and contemporary forms, it published a manifesto entitled “10 Handlungsmaxime für den Tanz” (English: 10 Maxims of Action for Dance)⁶⁶ in 2006 in which it unequivocally laid claim to a role as a national lobby and advocate for dance:

“The Ständige Konferenz Tanz sees itself as a lobby for dance in Germany. It oversees the coordinating of concerns related to artistic dance nationwide, and commits itself to dance-related matters on a political level and in the administrative sector. The goal is to improve dance appreciation nationally and internationally, to make this art form accessible to a broader public, and to anchor it as a lasting fixture in society.”

In this statement the main purpose of justifying a national lobby for dance was presented as rational and logical. This type of rhetoric was sufficient to appeal to those already part of the German dance sector as a logical means to ensure that their interests would be recognised and satisfied. However, drawing on Brown et al. (2012, p.313) the text also promoted an additional ethical appeal on behalf of the Konferenz to a wider audience, extending beyond the boundaries of dance and legitimising its role as a means to broaden access to dance and anchor it in society more firmly.

This ethical appeal was reiterated two years later in a special Jan-Feb 2008 issue of the German Politik und Kultur magazine⁶⁷ about culture, when the then president of the Bundestag, Norbert Lammert, acknowledged the secondary role that dance played amongst the major art forms in Germany. In stating his support for the Tanzplan initiative he expressed his optimism that Tanzplan would fundamentally change the status of dance:

⁶⁵ The founding members included representatives from the fields of dance research, dance medicine, teaching and professional performance covering both classical and contemporary dance. Source: www.dachverband-tanz.de.

⁶⁶ Published 19 April 2006. Accessed at <http://www.dance-germany.org>. Also available at www.dachverband-tanz.de.

⁶⁷ Available at http://www.kulturrat.de/puk_liste.php.

“Der Tanzplan bietet begründeten Anlass zur Hoffnung, dass Tanzkunst zu einem anerkannten Bestandteil der Kultur unseres Landes werden kann, so wie es für die Musik, die Bildende Kunst, die Literatur ganz selbstverständlich ist” (Lammert [cited in Kultur-Kompetenz-Bildung, 2008, p.1]).

Translation: “The dance plan offers the justified hope that the art of dance will become an integral part of culture in our country, as naturally as is the case for music, the visual arts and literature.”

When the Tanzplan programme officially came to an end in 2010 the final report began with a somewhat provocative question about the purpose and role of the five-year initiative:

“Was war das eigentlich - ein Politikum, eine auf Zeit sprudelnde Geldquelle, ein vorweggenommenes nationales Tanzbüro, ein Ideenlieferant, ein Lobbyist, ein Katalysator für die Tanzszene? Zuallererst war der Tanzplan eine Initiative der Kulturstiftung des Bundes, ohne die es ihn nicht gegeben hätte” (Tanzplan, 2011[8], p.2).

Translation: “What was it really - a political issue, a temporary, rich source of funds a prospective national dance department; a source of ideas; a lobbyist; a catalyst for the dance scene? Above all Tanzplan was an initiative of the Federal Cultural Foundation, without which it would never have existed.”

Whilst permitting debate on the nature of the Tanzplan and its purpose, the author of this text identified the Tanzplan clearly with a federally (and therefore) centrally managed institution – legitimating not only the intervention of the federal body as instigator, but also implicitly justifying the role of Tanzplan. However, the intentional ambiguity of the text’s meaning deflected potential criticism that might arise from attempts to promote a federal lobby organization. Simultaneously the text evoked a sense of anticipation for the future in the use of emotive and dynamic rhetoric.

Later in the same document the advocacy theme was subtly raised again when claims about the efficacy of a centralised co-ordination at a federal level were positioned as being a key factor in having persuaded regional and local decision makers to participate in the programme (Hoffmann, Tanzplan [8],

p.10). As the project manager of Tanzplan, Madeline Ritter, also attributed several ‘firsts’ for dance in Germany to the initiative, including gaining the attention of the German Chancellor for the first time in the history of the Federal Republic:

“Der Tanzplan hat eine Vorlage geliefert, um den Tanz auch in der Bundeskulturpolitik zum Thema zu machen: und im Februar 2011 folgte eine “Kleine Anfrage” an das Bundeskanzleramt über die “Zukunft des Tanzes in Deutschland” – eine bis dato unvorstellbarer Vorgang in der Bundespolitik” (Ritter, Tanzplan, [8], p.18).

Translation: “Tanzplan has provided a model for making dance a topic in federal cultural politics: and in February 2011 there was a ‘small request’ put to the Chancellor’s office about the future of dance in Germany – something hitherto unheard of in federal politics.”

Clearly Tanzplan was seen as both a political and cultural success nationally. This was credited in part to the initiative building on the existing scene rather than starting afresh and focusing on a gradual improvement in the infrastructure of the dance scene in Germany. Phrases such as ‘*Strukturentwicklungsplan*’ (structural development plan), ‘*Nachhaltigkeit*’ (sustainability), ‘*Ausbildung*’ (development, education, training) and ‘*Förderung*’ (sponsorship) occurred throughout the document and reinforced the expressed intent of permanently anchoring dance in the cultural consciousness of the country. These phrases underpinned the logos arguments used to justify Tanzplan Deutschland in the first place and were reinforced by ethical appeals for dance in Germany to be accorded the same status as opera and theatre in both the consciousness of the general public and amongst members of the cultural and political scenes (Neumann, Tanzplan [8], p.4)⁶⁸.

6.4.4 Summary and Discussion

In Germany, as elsewhere, publicly funded organizations have not been immune to the budget cuts imposed in the wake of recession and economic

⁶⁸ Source: Bernd Neumann, MdB, Staatsminister für Kultur und Medien.

uncertainty. In the era of ‘new public management’ the generous public sector support afforded the performing arts has generally been cut and with it subsidies and grants for the contemporary dance scene. Cutbacks have affected cultural funding at all levels federally, regionally and at a municipal level. In the wake of economic austerity affecting many Western economies, governments reassessed the funding of cultural activities and arts and performing organizations have been forced to close as a result.

In an attempt to mitigate the impact of the cuts, German cultural leaders have, similarly to the UK, responded by attempting to harness the commercial potential of the Creative Industries. Although commencing somewhat later than in the UK, in 2007 the German government launched the ‘Initiative Kultur- und Kreativwirtschaft’ to support the sector in developing the necessary marketing, business and financial acumen to cope with the shift to more market-oriented outlooks. Under the banner headline ‘Business Plan für Ballerinen’ (English translation: Business plan for ballerinas) the German Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ) newspaper described the optimism felt by promoters of the initiative in stimulating further growth in the sector despite the recession (FAZ, 2010).

Tanzplan responded to this call for more innovative commercial attitudes by introducing project-based financing that looked to stimulate local activity and interest in dance sufficiently to release alternative sources of funding that would enable the continuation of projects. This matched funding approach was managed by a special legal entity, the eponymous Tanzplan Deutschland e.V. (non-profit association), and set up by the Federal Cultural Foundation to sponsor regional efforts to promote dance. Furthermore, the beneficiaries of funding proposals, not the progenitors of Tanzplan, decided on the support concept to be adopted locally. Only when agreement had been reached between the local agencies and artists did Tanzplan intervene to provide additional, matched funding. Thus, there was a concerted move away from guaranteed public funding models to time-limited project-based funding with increasingly diverse sponsorship.

Tanzplan had a manifesto, clearly articulated in the Tanznetz⁶⁹ article cited in section 6.4.3 of this document, to promote collaboration amongst different parties in the dance sector in Germany. The funding model was

⁶⁹ Source: <http://www.tanznetz.de/tanzszene.phtml?page=showthread&aid=136&tid=9172>.

important in encouraging consensus through the matched funding approach involving regional agencies who co-ordinated the applications from its artistic community and then administered those funds on behalf of the applicants. Tanzplan, with its links to the federal Cultural Foundation, was regarded as an important means of communication and co-ordination to raise the visibility and profile of dance amongst regional and metropolitan decision-makers by drawing attention to the need to establish dance as a peer amongst other art forms through continuous lobbying, promotion and communication with sometimes disparate interest groups throughout Germany (Tanzplan [8], p.10).

The consensus-building nature of the Tanzplan initiative in Germany saw its leaders consciously liaise with representatives of several regional dance 'scenes', bringing together dancers, choreographers, artistic directors and politicians to understand the priorities of the sector. Many of the projects supported by Tanzplan during its five years continue to the present day and offshoots of the initiative such as Tanzerbe (English: Dance Heritage Fund) and Tanzfonds Partner (English: Dance Partners Fund) were guaranteed funding support until at least 2014. Madeline Ritter, the former director of Tanzplan Deutschland, and Ingo Diehl, the former director of Tanzplan Deutschland's educational programme, were responsible for creating the follow-on funding concepts and founded the not-for-profit company DIEHL+RITTER in July 2011 specifically as a vehicle to manage the funds. Madeline Ritter is currently the fund's project director⁷⁰.

In her résumé project leader Madeline Ritter stated that Tanzplan had become a model example internationally. The federal government, the federal states and the metropolitan bodies were all committed to continuing to support dance in Germany beyond the 2010 end date for Tanzplan. In her opinion the plan had become reality (Ritter, Tanzplan [8], p.19).

The co-ordinating function of Tanzplan and its success in this role were also used to exemplify the need for a national dance centre to continue the work of Tanzplan in the future. Not only essential for advice and services for dance professionals including dancers and choreographers, such a centre would, it was argued, promote the cultural and political interests of dance at a European level (Tanzplan, [8], p.20). Whilst representatives from the dance sector across Germany expressed support for a national centre for dance,

⁷⁰ Source: <http://www.tanzfonds.de/en/erbe-info>. [Accessed 11 January 2013].

efforts since 2010 have focused more on regional centres such as Berlin. However, interest groups including the Nationaler Performance Netz (NPN) and the Dachverband Tanz Deutschland (DTD) did succeed in securing political and financial support for a variety of projects that commenced in 2013 and that represent a move towards greater national and international cohesion.⁷¹

6.5 Dance Policy Discourses in the UK

The three logics introduced by the seminal 2004 Government Report on the state of dance in the UK, HC 587-I, i.e. excellence, access and the contribution to healthy living had largely been dealt with separately by various government departments and agencies independently until the publication of the report. By incorporating the logics into one text the associations between them were established and then reinforced continuously throughout the remainder of the document.

This form of association was significant in that it linked three themes of focus for dance policy, which were essentially “textured” from external logics and discourses that the Government was employing in other policy areas at the time and exemplified the phenomenon of ‘policy attachment’, a device frequently used to reinforce the Third Way politics of the previous Labour administration to conflate social and market theories. As a discursive strategy the linking of the themes in this manner created a relationship (or meronymy) between the text as a whole and the individual elements of the report, which in turn helped to reinforce the underlying discourse of social fairness (Fairclough, 2003).

A combination of fluctuating spending on dance since the late 1960s and its contested definition, i.e. ‘art form or sporting activity’ made dance susceptible to a need to be associated with non-cultural policy themes such as social fairness in order to gain access to resources. This change of emphasis effected subtle role changes amongst many of the parties involved in the funding, production and performance of dance. Funding and distribution agencies such as the Arts Council England (ACE) were no longer simply

⁷¹ Source: http://www.tanzbuero-berlin.de/index.php?article_id=174&clang=0. [Accessed 11 January 2013].

enablers, supporting the producers of dance works and events in the pursuit of excellence, but were required to use their resources to develop a wider, more diverse audience for dance and the arts in general and to encourage recipients of funding to develop business-oriented skills and approaches in the spirit of entrepreneurialism (Caust, 2003, p. 58; Royce, 2011, p.40). Equally many dance companies found themselves becoming progressively more involved in educational programmes as a means to secure funding (Castle et al., 2002), as well as being encouraged to develop or foster business competencies such as marketing, fund-raising and sponsorship.

The main instrument through which such policy objectives were and still are exercised is the funding application or proposal, which applicants use to justify a programme or schedule and the economic support needed to stage their performances. Thus, the application must provide arguments that demonstrate that the proposed activity does meet a pre-defined set of criteria if it is to secure funding⁷².

ACE offers various types of funding including project-based financing, time-limited and the medium-term national portfolio funding system (ACE, 2010, p.2). Terms such as ‘business model, business planning’, ‘productivity’, ‘shared services’ and ‘outsourcing’ are part of a rhetorical strategy centred on an entrepreneurial discourse that emphasises the necessity of sound business models and practices whilst simultaneously highlighting the perceived lack of such competence in the arts sector, because:

“The culture of the contemporary art world has a strong individualistic flavour and a traditional ambivalence towards, if not rejection of, the values of the economic world” (Royce, 2011, p.4).

The use of funding control mechanisms has become commonplace in the public sector, particularly in the health sector and imitates the periodic business planning exercises conducted by commercial organizations. Both the UK case examples, Dance Umbrella and The Place, employ staff whose roles are dedicated to attracting sponsorship and funding.⁷³

In Bourdieuan terms such funding mechanisms are referred to as pedagogic practices that aim to achieve adherence to externally determined

⁷² Source: Arts Council England, 2010. The National Portfolio for Funding: guidance for applicants.

⁷³ Sources: <http://www.danceumbrella.co.uk/support-us>. [Accessed 17 July 2013].

criteria and rules by imposing an alternative form of eligibility or legitimacy on dependent organizations. In Chapter Seven (7) we use case examples to illustrate what the implications of such funding models, subsumed under the overarching heading of entrepreneurialism, are for dance organizations in the UK and Germany. In doing so we consider key organizational aspects such as legitimacy, identity and practice.

6.5.1 Dance Policy Discourse in the UK – Identity: defining the role of dance

Identity is a difficult concept to define and measure. Whilst closely related to the notion of culture, it has generated its own body of literature that encompasses instrumental as well as more critical perspectives of organizational change.

From an organizational perspective Albert & Whetten (1985) represented identity as the answer to a set of questions intended to identify features of the organization that are core, distinctive and enduring. Hatch and Yanow (2008) in contrast challenged this positivist view with their constructivist position based on the notion that:

“...organizational identities emerge in and through the lived experiences stakeholders have of their organizational lives and activities” (Hatch & Yanow, 2008, p.33).

This latter perspective implied a dynamic process involving continuous exchanges between reflections inside the organization about “Who we are” and impressions gained from interactions between organizational members and other stakeholders. This exchange of impressions between stakeholders inevitably drew on both inherent characteristics such as gender, social class and educational background as well as ‘ideal-typical images of occupations’ and was subject to fluctuations as actors and organizations constantly competed for capital and favourable positions in the field. In turn positional identities could shift as stakeholders contested the right to define or ‘name’ the dominant form of capital in the field and its distribution.

For the dance sector the very ambiguity of its role makes it vulnerable to externally imposed isomorphic pressures that directly challenge its identity

as an art form. Dance as a multi-disciplinary, physical activity has throughout its history in the UK struggled to establish a clear, unequivocal identity as an art form. This in turn has undermined dance's position when obliged to justify its role and differentiate adequately between different forms of dance. For example, Andrée Grau described the tensions between different genres of dance, ballet and contemporary, both in terms of the ability of each to perform the other's repertoire and of the privileging of one form over another in terms of the prioritisation of government funding (Grau, 2007, p.202). Identification with a particular dance genre, the ability to perform the requisite repertoire and the resentment over funding is influenced by historical and external forms of validation and legitimation. In the quest for legitimacy and therefore privileged access to resources and status the unresolved state of this struggle can lead to isomorphic responses amongst organizations:

“...the adoption of external assessment criteria and employing external criteria of worth are some of the features of isomorphism, which produces legitimacy” (Oakes et al., 1998, p.278).

In other contributions to the House of Commons (HC 587-I) report the ambiguous definition of dance surfaced tensions that highlight the obligation to satisfy alternative logics and foreground accessibility and healthy living as key objectives for the UK dance sector. Ken Bartlett, Director, Foundation for Community Dance (FCD) illustrated this when he observed that the sports world and (community) dance hoped that:

“As long as we recognise that dance is not just a health regime, or a keep fit regime, and that it is about expression, communication and an art form, I think we can work very positively together” (HC 587-I, 2004, §44, p.21).

The text demonstrated adherence to government objectives whilst simultaneously making a plea for the intrinsic value of dance as an art form to be recognised. The ordering of the text, i.e. the subordinate positioning of the phrase referring to dance's role as an art form reinforced the dominance of the other logics relating to health and accessibility.

In another part of the government inquiry's report, however, the ambiguity of the sector's role was presented as an advantage:

“...the dance industry should use the fact that it is both an art form and a physical activity to campaign for and access funds from multiple sources within government who have policy responsibility for relevant areas” (HC 587-I, 2004, §81, p.31).

In a further example the term ‘access’ as first used in the ministerial statement on dance (HC 587-I, 2004, p.13) referred to the ability of students to participate in training. However, the term became gradually modified over time to the extent that it eventually reflected the audience or passive participant’s role as well. Thus, whilst Burns & Harrison (2009, p.18) acknowledged that “dance artists need more time for both creation and research and development”, they also observed that a better understanding of the requirements of venues and audiences was wanted as well.

Thus, the autonomy of the artist is threatened by a demand that he or she considers factors that may have nothing to do with artistic innovation or originality in order to attract audiences with little or no experience of dance.

The tensions revealed by the association of instrumental aims such as healthy living with the role of dance exemplified the lack of a clear, unified identity for dance in the UK. The lack of unity was exacerbated by the multiples genres that exist such as folk, ballet or ballroom. Although these other forms have, in many cases, long-established traditions, the perceived hierarchical nature of dance genres appeared to diminish the value of participatory dance such as community dance and therefore prevented a truly unified identity from being articulated:

“Dance has been said to be a universal language...but there are too many dialects today. Who will step forward and inspire the common voice? I believe that there is too much self-interest for any single organization to make a difference and defeat the greatest challenge we have to build consistency and commonality into dance. The longer people view dance produced or performed at the Sadler's Wells with more esteem and critical worth than a school dance production, we will not move forward” (Burns and Harrison, 2009, p.152).

6.5.2 Dance Policy Discourse in the UK – Legitimacy: Displacing the Hegemony of the Performative

In the UK dance was associated with physical education and sport from the 19th century onwards. This lack of a clear link to arts through the medium of general education was still evident in the House of Commons report when it emphasised perspectives that foregrounded accessibility and healthy living by explicitly attaching the artistic value of dance to social and physical benefits to be gained from physical activity. For example, the National Dance Teachers Association stated that dance:

- “• as one of the major art forms, its intrinsic value lies in the possibilities it offers for the development of pupils’ creative, imaginative, physical, emotional and intellectual capacities;
- because of its physical nature, dance provides a means of expression and communication distinct from other art forms and because of its expressive and creative nature it stands apart from other physical activities;
- the practical, theoretical and contextual study of dance as an art form contributes to pupils’ artistic, physical, aesthetic, cultural, and social development; and
- it plays an important role in promoting physical fitness and well-being and contributes to pupils’ understanding of how to maintain a healthy life style” (HC 587-I, 2004, p.18).

Promoting access by advocating cultural and demographic diversity amongst participants in higher education and dance schools (Neelands et al., 2006; Siddall, 2001) was an even more specific reflection of government policies regarding social inclusion and was to be achieved through mainly economic means via public subsidy channels. Again this was an ethical argument appropriated in support of legitimating logics that were not solely artistic or aesthetic, but were instrumental to achieving insurgent policy objectives.

In their assessment of the UK dance sector Burns and Harrison (2009) raised the question of professional recognition to challenge the primacy of the performative role in dance:

- “There is a persisting primacy of the artist within the field and this represents a hierarchy that resonates with Bourdieu’s theory (1994)

that authority within a given field is inherent in recognition. It is arguable that within the dance field the choreographer and the performing dancer attain recognition whilst the teacher, manager, choreologist and physiotherapist rarely attain the same level of recognition” (Burns & Harrison, 2009, p.129).

Despite the growth in vocational training for dance professionals performers and choreographers continue to dominate in terms of recognition and status. This is in spite of the fact that only circa 2000 out of a population of 30,000 dance professionals, i.e. individuals employed in the dance sector in various capacities, are currently publicly performing, professional dancers or choreographers. Tensions also exist between teachers and practitioners of dance at a higher education level, despite the fact that in the UK sector some 75% of ‘professionals’ are involved in teaching (Burns, 2007, p.12). The implication is that various dance professions exist that do not assume a career or training as a professional dancer to be a prerequisite. Some of these alternative professions, like animateurism⁷⁴, tend to focus less on dance as purely artistic practice and more on the ‘secondary’ or instrumental value of dance as a medium for personal development. As these roles have established themselves the wish to be regarded as an equal of a choreographer/performer has begun to manifest itself with tensions surfacing between dancers and other types of practitioner in the dance field:

1. “The dance profession comprises those people who earn a significant part of their living through dance. For too long it has been seen as those that perform and this creates a value system and hierarchy where most of the people working within the sector feel undervalued or, worse, feel they have failed as they have ‘ended up’ teaching. We must re-evaluate the notion of what it means to be a dance professional”.
2. “Leadership of the sector is dominated by the smallest part of it – those who perform and choreograph”.

⁷⁴ A dance animateur is often known by many different titles, such as dancer in residence or dance worker in the community. He/She is someone who works in community or education, in order to raise the profile of dance activity locally and particularly to encourage the participation and involvement of others in a variety of dance activities. The precise role would be determined by the funding organization for the dance animateur and the needs of the community/work environment. Source: <http://www.young-dancers.org/careers/careersadvice/careersadvice.html#danceworker> . [Accessed 07.12.2009].

3. “There is a hierarchy within the sector and power accrues to this – leading to a lower value being placed on dance in its wider manifestations. Much of HE provision appears to perpetuate this with its emphasis on training the body” (Burns, 2007, p.8).

In essence the writer called for new legitimisation criteria to be applied to the field of dance and its various practitioners in order to displace the hegemonic choreographer-dancer.

Taking the genre of community dance as a specific example, Sue Akroyd’s article acknowledged that there is no definitive definition of community dance; however she did argue in favour of more recognition for its:

“...identifiable values and purposes, and recognisable approaches to practice. It requires specialised skills, knowledge and understanding and is a chosen area of practice for many dance professionals” (Akroyd, 2007, p.5).

In other words what is missing is an official accreditation of community dance that would lend artists involved in this sector an appropriate degree of legitimacy and acknowledgment:

“What it doesn't have, arguably, is appropriate status within the dance sector or recognition as a profession in the outside world. It has no shared mechanism for describing quality, standards or competence and few means of describing progression and professional status. Does this matter? The short answer is 'yes'. It matters to dance artists themselves, and to their employers. It matters that artists who work in this field are recognised, supported and valued, and that the practice is celebrated and nurtured. It matters that artists are equipped to deliver high quality, safe, enjoyable dance experiences for participants, and that employers are assured of an individual's ability to deliver safely, legally and effectively against their agendas, be they health, learning, social or artistic. It matters because, in reality, almost all dance artists will work in community dance at some stage in their career, and the demand for this work is growing” (Akroyd, 2007, p.5).

Rational (e.g. ‘high quality, safe, enjoyable dance experiences’), ethical (e.g. ‘employers are assured of an individual’s ability to deliver safely, legally and effectively’) and emotional (e.g. ‘It matters that artists who work in this

field are recognised, supported and valued, and that the practice is celebrated and nurtured') arguments were combined to promote the professional self-interest of a particular group of dance practitioners. In other words, by exploiting the ambiguity of the term 'professional' to develop customised professional standards community artists were preparing to re-negotiate their role in the dance field⁷⁵.

Overall, the picture that emerged was one where the hegemony of the dancer-choreographer's role was often challenged by the promotion of a range of experience and capabilities not necessarily exemplary of artistic excellence. Once more, the hitherto artistic autonomy of the dance field was being threatened by external influences that favoured a more commercial as well as socially favourable approach to dance and that were legitimated by positive associations with concepts such as entrepreneurialism, accessibility and social inclusiveness. We argue that this is achieved primarily by exploiting the ambiguity of dance's role and definition to promote extrinsic logics and create discourses and legitimation criteria for alternative forms of 'professionalism' with the intent of diminishing the 'capital' of the dancer-choreographer in favour of more hybrid, non-performative roles.

6.5.3 Dance Policy Discourse in The UK - Artistic Practice: Promoting the Entrepreneur

The discourse concerning creativity in the UK's cultural sector was amplified during the years of the Labour administration (1997-2010) and particularly so after the publication of the DCMS's paper *Culture and Creativity: The Next Ten Years* (2001). In this text the term 'cultural entrepreneur' was extensively used. It is a phrase that is ambiguous and unmistakably the term derives from the rhetoric surrounding the creative or cultural industries debate (DCMS, 2001; Ellmeier, 2003; Garnham 2005; Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005).

⁷⁵ Initiative is in collaboration with DTAP as described in the Foundation for Community Dance's magazine *Community Dance*, Spring edition 2010. Source: <http://www.communitydance.org.uk/FCD/Article.aspx?id=882&bpid=0>: [Accessed 2 March 2011].

However, there were contradictions apparent in the association of dance with the Creative Industries' discourse. Firstly, many dance professionals did not identify with the definition and application of the terms 'cultural' and 'creative industries'; mainly as a result of the notion that the term 'cultural industries' reflected production and distribution methods akin to industrial production (Burns and Harrison, 2009, p.115).

Furthermore, the question remained unanswered as to what 'entrepreneurship' really meant for a dance professional who is often, but not always a dancer. Burns for example advocated training that prepared students for more than a performing dance career. This was linked to interpretations of 'entrepreneurship' that required artists to align themselves with the needs of the market and with those of potential collaborators. Accordingly Burns (2007, p.7) defined the term 'entrepreneur' in terms of the characteristics that dance professionals would need to exhibit if they were to be successful. Artistic integrity was only one of seven aspects that she identified⁷⁶. In other words the artistic autonomy of the dancer-choreographer was diminished somewhat as other roles such as teaching and business management were repositioned to reflect the increased value of other non-artistic capabilities. Thus the term 'entrepreneur' became a focal point for the tensions that existed between different actors in the dance field, i.e. dancers and choreographers and dance professionals involved in areas other than professional performance, e.g. community dance. Entrepreneurialism became a discursive resource for those seeking to promote other forms of professionalism by arguing that the (subsidised) choreographer/performer was in fact not sufficiently astute to be considered successful in commercial terms:

⁷⁶ Source: Burns, s. 2007. MAPPING DANCE: Entrepreneurship and Professional Practice in Dance Higher Education.

- The ability to balance creative independence with the ability to work collaboratively
- The ability to manage artistic integrity within a market context
- The ability to manage self
- The ability to create financial self-sufficiency through the management of skills
- The ability to adopt a creative and lateral approach
- The ability to create networks, maintain and manage them and communicate effectively
- The ability to be proactive, pragmatic and flexible

“It could be argued that public subsidy, whilst fostering dance and investing in the ballet repertoire, has quashed the need for that business entrepreneurialism” (Burns & Harrison, 2009, p.118).

This argument facilitated a shift in legitimacy from performative excellence towards abilities that extolled a combination of skills. Thus, the hegemony of the dancer-choreographer was challenged by actors who had a wide range of business skills as well as dance experience. The hitherto artistic autonomy of the dance field was threatened by external influences that favoured a more commercial approach to dance and that were legitimised by creating positive associations with concepts such as entrepreneurialism and discursive strategies to promote the rationale of strong business management in the arts generally. Crucially this was also constructed as a necessary means to secure the survival of organizations beyond the short term (Royce, 2011).

Technology was also constructed as a stimulus for and source of both artistic and entrepreneurial innovation:

“With its evident strengths in recreational, community and educational contexts, dance delivers ‘live’ interactive arts experience. With no language barrier, it is a powerful cultural ambassador. Digital media is content-hungry, and digital dissemination recognises no geographic boundaries” (Siddall, 2001, p.38).

However, technology was also regarded as a potential threat. As Jeannette Siddall observed, audiences were likely to become ever more demanding as their leisure time increased and their familiarity with digital media became more sophisticated. The possibility that the live theatrical experience would have to give way to new venues and digital forms of performance was mooted with the paradox being that the opportunities offered by digital media might be threatened by the risks of piracy as a consequence of the ease of access to digitised material. Moreover, the relative inexperience of subsidised organizations in managing the commercial implications of these new technologies was also cited as a weakness and as a cogent reason once more to acquire greater commercial acumen; something however:

“...that is rarely nurtured by a public funding paradigm with its emphasis on public service” (Siddall, 2001, p.39).

6.5.4 Summary and Discussion

The analysis firstly showed that the question of identity and definition for dance remain unresolved and problematic. The increased emphasis on satisfying non-artistic objectives and the funding criteria that are closely linked to them challenged the autonomy of the performer-choreographer and thus had the effect of marginalising the artistic definition of dance and hindering the articulation of a consistent identity. This was exemplified by The Place and Dance Umbrella, both in the ordering of texts that described their roles and the ambiguous language used to illustrate the tension inherent in trying to satisfy alternative, extrinsic logics. Although the artistic logic of ‘excellence’ was acknowledged as a policy theme, access to funding was most frequently associated with dance’s other definition as a physical activity and one that contributed to healthy living.

Moreover, identity was not only contested outside the dance sector, but also within the sector by advocates of different genres and forms of participation. This lack of unity within the sector made it more vulnerable to external influences, particularly where they controlled access to resources such as government agencies.

Secondly, the question of legitimacy was also a contested one as non-performative roles vied for equal status with the traditionally hegemonic artist-choreographer. This took in not only various notions of what constituted a ‘dance professional’, but also incorporated an alternative conceptualisation of aestheticism as exemplified by the work of companies like DV8 and CanDoCo. In the text analysis we showed that representatives from the teaching and health and welfare lobbies extrapolated the accessibility and healthy living themes to argue for the formalisation of professional qualifications and accreditations linked to certain practices such as community dance. Consequently, the term ‘dance professional’ became ambiguous, encompassing a variety of occupations familiar in the dance sector such as ‘animateur’ and resulting in a diminution of the status of the performer-choreographer.

Thirdly, the entrepreneurial discourse worked to alter the balance between the dance artist and the dance practitioner by broadening the range of vocabulary used to denote artistic and creative practice in the dance field. For example the attractive, positive connotation of the term ‘entrepreneurialism’ was associated not only with innovation and resourcefulness, but also with

business and commercial acumen when juxtaposed with arguments in favour of less reliance on state aid (Burns & Harrison, 2009, p.117). Here the implicit association and frequent concurrence of the term ‘creative’ with ‘entrepreneur’ in policy studies and reports disclosed the growing weight attached to business skills as necessary for a career as a dancer. The desirability of commercial skills amongst dance organizations was closely allied with the funding discourse developed in the UK government report. This contrasted with traditional notions that artistic excellence and ability amongst performers and choreographers were the definitive criteria necessary to achieve legitimacy and recognition in the dance sector. Moreover, the meronymic device of creating a fundamental link between funding and non-performative roles in the core texts reinforced attempts by field participants to reposition themselves and legitimate their ‘right’ to access resources. However, in keeping with Brown et al. (2012, p.313) the analysis showed that there was no overt change in the ‘status quo’:

“...wholesale redistribution of power, capital or field membership; it mostly required dominant actors to do things differently.”

This was achieved by complementing rational appeals in support of policy legitimated in other sectors with arguments that emphasised moral and emotional aspects. The obligation to comply with these imported logics was strengthened by the pedagogic nature of the funding discourse presented in the original Government inquiry (HC 587-I) and directly linked to the definition and role of dance.

6.6 Dance Policy Discourse in Germany

The initiative Tanzplan Deutschland (English: Dance Plan Germany) was a five-year plan devised by the Federal Cultural Foundation in 2005 to create a sustainable improvement for dance in Germany. 12.5 million euros were allocated to fund a number of projects and investments, including the 2006 Ständige Konferenz Tanz (English: Permanent Conference for Dance). The remit of Tanzplan was extensive, encompassing dance training and educational initiatives, the foundation of new festivals for dance, the creation of dedicated support and information web-sites such as www.dance-germany.org the set up of

a pan-university centre for dance (HZT) in Berlin, the publication of academic works concerned with dance and the preservation of its legacy, the creation of a foundation for dancers in career transition as well as continuing support for a national performance network (NPN) designed to encourage co-operation nationally and internationally.

No formal dance policy existed when Tanzplan was initiated, but it was described as a ‘Master Plan’ for dance that would help co-ordinate and network activities in the dance sector throughout Germany and encourage more collaboration between the freelance (primarily contemporary), ballet and subsidised sectors of the field. The core text underpinning the policy analysis was the document *Tanzplan Deutschland, eine Bilanz, 2011* [8]⁷⁷, a summary document published in 2011 at the end of the five-year programme. As Madeline Ritter, the project leader for Tanzplan Deutschland, wrote in the abridged English language version:

“The five-year initiative, which ran until 2010, acted as a catalyst for the German dance scene and became a groundbreaking model for sustainable cultural practice. The goal was to strengthen dance as an art form – both comprehensively and systematically” (Tanzplan [9], p.1).

Whilst the federated nature of Germany traditionally meant that dance initiatives at a national level occurred in the form of festivals, primarily as a stage for choreographers, dances and dance companies, the Tanzplan initiative took a different approach, recognising the need to mobilise all areas associated with dance – education and training, production, presentation and scholarship in parallel with each other.

The vocabulary of Tanzplan reflected the emphasis placed on specific aspects of the programme. Key words and phrases such as ‘Netzwerk’ (network), ‘Strukturentwicklungsplan’ (structural development plan), ‘Strukturverbesserungen’ (structural improvements), ‘Nachhaltigkeit’ (sustainability), kulturelle Bildung (development, education), Aus- und Weiterbildung (training and further education) and Förderung (promotion and funding) occurred frequently throughout the texts produced by the cultural-political sponsors of Tanzplan and formed the basis for discourses derived

⁷⁷ N.B. In English, *Tanzplan Deutschland 2005-2010, a Final Report* [9].

from four key themes or categories identified by the authors of this paper. The table 6.3 shows the four categories that were identified from the text analysis with the related German phrases:

Category	Reference German term/phrase
Advocacy	Lobbyist; Katalysator; Netzwerk, Tanzbüro; Ideenlieferant, Vitalisierungsprogramm
Dance Education & Training	Aus- und Weiterbildung; kulturelle Bildung
Sustainability	Nachhaltigkeit/nachhaltig, Förderung, Netzwerk, Geldquelle, Sichtbarkeit/ sichtbar, Beurteilung/ beurteilen
Dance Scholarship	Kulturerbe; Archiv, Tanzwissenschaft, Lehr- und Forschungsprogramm

Table 6.3: German Policy Text Analysis: Discursive Categories and Themes

The four discourses that we identified in the texts produced by Tanzplan were firstly an hegemonic one backing a national dance agency (**Advocacy**); a second one that combined artistic and socio-economic logics (**Dance Education and Training**); a third that promoted long-term cultural-political objectives (**Sustainability**) and a fourth category comprising **Dance Scholarship**.

Advocacy was defined as a stand-alone initiative under Tanzplan Deutschland under the heading of ‘Lobbyarbeit’ whilst **Dance Education and Training** was conducted as a series of projects targeting dance in schools, dance teacher training and performance training. **Sustainability** as an independent category mapped to the role of the Kulturstiftung des Bundes (English: Federal Cultural Foundation) as the cultural-political instigator of Tanzplan. **Dance Scholarship** was subsumed into Tanzplan initiatives and projects such as ‘Kulturerbe Tanz’ and ‘Tanzplan vor Ort’. It was accorded a distinct category for the main purpose of examining the responses of actors in the German dance field to these Tanzplan initiatives.

6.6.1 Advocacy

In a survey conducted in April 2012 by the Dachverband Tanz Deutschland ca. 50 organizations and associations were known to be active locally or regionally in Germany in promoting dance and its heritage, staging

works, teaching and networking⁷⁸. Until 2006 the only cultural and political representation that dance had at a federal level was via the performing arts and dance sub-committee of the Federal Cultural Foundation. With the founding of the Ständige Konferenz für Tanz a nationwide dance lobby-network was created for the first time, comprising a broad spectrum of organizations directly involved in dance⁷⁹.

At this early stage Tanzplan had only been operational for a year and was mainly seen as a source of project funding, but as it progressed a broader rhetoric about its role emerged as a motivator and networker of dance interests throughout the country:

“Tanzplan Germany is not simply an advocate organization– rather the Berlin team under the leadership of Madeline Ritter is seeking to create a network for dance, trigger, encourage and act as an instigator, in the best sense of the word” (Tanzplan [7], 2008, p.2).

However, the German Minister for Culture Bernd Neumann in his welcoming address in the same document appeared to have a less ambiguous view of Tanzplan:

“Dieser »Masterplan für den Tanz« zielte darauf, die strukturellen Bedingungen für den Tanz als eigenständige Kunstsparte nachhaltig zu stärken” (Tanzplan [8], 2011, p.4).

Translation: “This ‘Masterplan for Dance’ had the objective of strengthening in a sustainable manner the structural conditions for dance as an independent art form.”

The groundwork for a potential continuation of Tanzplan’s work at a national level beyond 2010 was laid at a workshop hosted in 2009 when the Dachverband Tanz Deutschland (DTD), Tanzplan and Tanzkongress formed an alliance to promote the need for a permanent intermediary between politics, cultural management and the arts sector once Tanzplan finished. In June 2010 the outcomes of this workshop were published as a manifesto to promote the

⁷⁸ Source: <http://www.dachverband-tanz.de/zuf.html>. [Accessed 6 March 2013].

⁷⁹ Press release: March 17 2006: Unification Dance of all federal states and styles united: Ständige Konferenz Tanz founded in Berlin.

establishment of a national dance centre.⁸⁰ The manifesto argued that Tanzplan had been effective mainly because it was able to apply funding in an optimal way as a result of its close liaison work with different participants on the national dance scene in the form of ‘Match Funding’. A future national centre was envisaged as performing a multiplicity of roles including providing information and advice as well as acting as a communications and networking co-ordinator for national and international dance initiatives.

The advocacy discourse drew on both rational and emotional discursive strategies to legitimate the role of Tanzplan. Rational arguments drew attention to the need to have a representative at the interfaces between politics, cultural management and the arts to develop long-term, sustainable concepts as well as provide essential practitioner-focused services to the dance sector:

“Ob in einer zentralistischen oder in einer föderalen Demokratie: Die Frage nach Visionen, nach mittel- und langfristigen Konzepten, um die Künste zu entwickeln, ist heute vielleicht wichtiger denn je. Ein Ineinandergreifen von regionalen und nationalen Konzepten erscheint hierfür sinnvoll, wie dies beim Pilotprojekt Tanzplan Deutschland erprobt wurde” (Boldt, 2011b, p.21).

Translation: “Whether it is a centralised or federal democracy: the quest for visions, for medium- and long-term concepts to develop the arts is more important today than ever before. An intermingling of regional and national concepts for this purpose, as was shown with the pilot project Tanzplan Deutschland seems to make sense.”

International examples of initiatives similar to Tanzplan were cited and used to exemplify the need to have a permanent model that provided both a support base for dance and a format that enabled continual change to be adopted. This used familiar arguments concerning dance’s multi-disciplinary nature and its broad spectrum of genres. These arguments were combined with the call for producers, sponsors and politicians to be just as flexible as dance professionals themselves, resulting in the conclusion that a national, independent structure for dance, led by experts from the field was the most appropriate solution:

⁸⁰ Vorlage von Tanzplan Deutschland, Dachverband Tanz Deutschland and Tanzkongress, June 2010.

“Die große Bandbreite des Tanzes, seine interdisziplinäre Ausrichtung und Ausdifferenzierung stellen stets neue Anforderungen an Räume, Produzenten und Förderer, die Politiken des Tanzes müssen ebenso wendig sein wie die Sparte selbst. Für dieses Ineinander von Bestandssicherung und Veränderung erscheinen nationale, unabhängige Strukturen, die von Experten des Tanzes geleitet werden, mehr als sinnvoll zu sein” (Boldt, 2011b, p.22).

Translation: “The broad spectrum of dance, its inter-disciplinary focus and forms of differentiation continuously make new demands on spaces, producers and sponsors; the politics of dance must be just as flexible as the sector itself. For this simultaneous interdependent securing of the foundations and promoting change, national, independent structures managed by dance experts would appear to be more than useful.”

This format had already been successful elsewhere, e.g. in the USA where Dance USA has operated a network for nearly 30 years and was consciously cited by Tanzplan:

“...national structures represent the interests of dance at the political level, stimulate the dance scene and initiate developments in a targeted fashion: they work out what is needed and highlight grievances in order to draft programmes in close dialogue with regional partners. On the one hand, they are communicators exchanging information among artists, politicians, producers, sponsors and the general public; on the other hand, they are the initiators of and catalysts for ideas and impulses” (Tanzplan Deutschland [9], 2011).

The rhetoric was more dynamic where Tanzplan was described as an ‘unusual Match-Funding-Undertaking’; ‘an exciting developmental process’ and an ‘initiator’⁸¹; phrases that distanced it from being framed merely as a time-limited political funding project, which was the case at the start of the programme. By its close Tanzplan had transitioned into a dynamic ‘masterplan’, whose limited existence necessitated a structured handover of knowledge, experiences and ideas for future support models. This discourse

⁸¹ Source: Tanzplan [8], 2011, p.3. Original text: „Der Tanzplan war ein aufregender Entwicklungsprozess...”

clearly invited questions about who should take over from Tanzplan with the implication that none of the existing federal or regional bodies were suitable. It also subsequently prepared the way for a call for a national dance office made in an interview for Deutschlandfunk with Madeline Ritter, Tanzplan's former project manager. She insisted that dance in Germany required two things: financial support and a national representative body performing the role that Tanzplan had gradually assumed during its five-year existence, namely that of moderator, catalyst and lobbyist (Ritter, [cited in Nehring, 2011]). The sensegiving role of Tanzplan that these two claims exemplified was an important part of the legitimisation strategy for Tanzplan as it attempted to deflect concerns about the possibility of more centralised governance of policy making and funding.

6.6.2 Dance Education and Training

Dance Education and Training was highlighted as a focus area for Tanzplan from its inception⁸². It also reflects two of the 10 Maxims of Action conceived by the Ständige Konferenz Tanz in 2006 insisting that dance is 'kulturelle Bildung' (cultural education) and that dance training must be in keeping with developments in dance scholarship and medicine⁸³.

The discourse that emerged from the Tanzplan texts was one that will be familiar in the UK, i.e. social inclusion and accessibility. The Tanzplan rhetoric was primarily ethical, arguing that the increased political and societal interest generally in culture challenged dance to do the same. The cultural and political rhetoric, which was largely rational and ethical in nature considered several aspects that combined both intrinsic and extrinsic roles for the arts:

"Dabei überschneiden sich verschiedene Aspekte: das Interesse an der Vermittlung von ästhetisch-kultureller Bildung und an einer engeren Verbindung zwischen Kunst und Gesellschaft, die Frage von Partizipation und neuer Kollektivität, die Gewinnung anderer Publikumsschichten und die Erweiterung des Tanzbegriffs" (Diehl, 2011, p.73).

⁸² M. Ritter, Tanzplan Jahresheft 2006-2007, p.18

⁸³ Source: Ständige Konferenz Tanz, 19 April 2006.

Translation: “In doing so, various aspects overlap: the interest in the mediation of aesthetic-cultural education and in closer ties between the arts and society, the question of participation and new forms of collective, the attraction of other social classes and the extension of the concept of what dance is.”

Tanzplan articulated the multi-faceted nature of culture and education and the inherent complexity of dance as an interdisciplinary art form using direct quotes from interviews and discussions with representatives of the dance-training sector such as the Executive Director of the HZT in Berlin (Hoerster, 2011, p.71). There was an explicit involvement of the dance sector in these discussions, mainly in the form of scholars and dramatists involved in the local Tanzplan projects. The majority of the projects addressed perceived gaps between dance theory and practice and raised the expectation that dance be made more accessible, especially to children and young people by focusing for example on the professionalization of dance mediation and training or the creation of quality standards governing the teaching of dance in schools. Notable though was an absence of an overt debate about professionalisation as a source of legitimation. Although it was accepted that for those specialising in promoting dance in schools some sort of specialised training and accreditation might be necessary, Tanzplan also recognised the problems of associating sport and dance too closely (Klinge, 2008, p.8). On the other hand by extending the scope of the projects into the local communities the Tanzplan initiative enabled a more inclusive concept of creative practice to be understood without diminishing the dominant artistic-aesthetic logic.

Nonetheless, signs of tension did emerge during the Tanzplan programme with respect to funding for ‘cultural education’ versus artistic research and development. The Potsdam Tanzplan-vor-Ort project was, for example, the only one focused entirely on artistic experimentation and development. Whereas some observers criticised the channelling of funds primarily into underlying dance infrastructure improvements (e.g. training, facilities, heritage preservation and career transition support), others censured Tanzplan for favouring educational initiatives over artistic development and productions. However, in answering the critics Madeline Ritter was unambiguous in her opinion of what Tanzplan was about:

“Tatsächlich ist der Tanzplan eine große Bildungsoffensive gewesen”
(Ritter [cited in Luzina, 2011]).

Translation: “In actual fact Tanzplan was a major educational offensive.”

6.6.3 Sustainability

Sustainability was a key political discourse used particularly by representatives of the cultural and political establishments⁸⁴ to elevate co-operation across boundaries between genres, cultural administrators and politicians as the best means to exploit available resources most effectively. Key words that delineated the discourse included ‘Nachhaltigkeit/ nachhaltig, Förderung, Netzwerk, Geldquelle, Sichtbarkeit/ sichtbar, Beurteilung/ beurteilen’. These formed part of phrases that drew attention to the funding model used by Tanzplan, namely the “Match-Funding-Principle”, which required successful applicants to provide the same sum as approved by Tanzplan in order to proceed with projects and initiatives. Some words like ‘Förderung’, (in German able to mean both ‘funding’ and more generally ‘support’ of some kind) or ‘Netzwerk’ (network) were the most prevalent appearing throughout the Tanzplan texts. They were used at key points in the texts to emphasise that funding was not always the main issue, but that funders did not always display the same appetite for risk or innovation that they expected from recipients (Ritter, 2011, p.9). Thus applicants were expected to be collaborative and seek out partners across the divides of genre (e.g. ballet and contemporary dance) and work with local politicians to agree common goals and projects. Moreover, although limited to five years, the idea that this type of project model might promote longer-term sustainability and a more co-operative and dynamic approach to achieving common, realistic objectives was actively promulgated by Tanzplan management:

“Zeitliche Begrenzung erzeugt Druck und Dynamik und bewirkt, dass das eigene Ziel und der Weg dorthin ständig überprüft werden müssen” (Ritter, 2011, p.8).

⁸⁴ Hortensia Völckers, Artistic Director for the Federal Cultural Foundation and Bernd Neumann, Minister for Culture.

Translation: “A temporal limit generates pressure and dynamism and has the effect of making one continuously question one’s own goal and the way towards that it.”

6.6.4 Dance Scholarship

In the original ‘Aufforderungen für den Tanz 10 Handlungsmaximen’ (English: 10 Maxims for Dance), the Ständige Konferenz cited ‘Tanz als Wissenschaft’ (English: Dance as Scholarship) and ‘das Gedächtnis des Tanzes’ (English: the Memory of Dance) as two of the areas that needed to be addressed in order to establish dance as a true peer of other art forms vis à vis German cultural politics.

In comparison the overarching argument promulgated by Tanzplan implied a fundamentally moral role for culture in defining a society’s identity, linking it directly to the need to protect cultural goods in order to preserve both a society’s present and future:

“Nachdem Natur die zentrale Rolle zur Identitätsfindung unserer Gesellschaft ganz eingebüsst hat und auch Nation an Bedeutung verliert, kommt der Kultur in diesem Prozess heute eine dominierende Position zu. Was Kultur jeweils ausmacht, wie ein Kanon aussehen könnte, ist heute viel mehr als früher selbst Gegenstand von Diskussion. Unbestritten jedoch ist, dass sowohl materielle als auch immaterielle historische Kulturgüter geschützt und bewahrt werden müssen, um unsere Gegenwart und Zukunft zu gestalten” (Völckers, 2009, p.3).

Translation: “Since nature has totally sacrificed its central role in defining our society’s identity and even the concept of ‘nationhood’ is becoming less important, culture today is being accorded a dominant position in this process. What culture at any one time represents; what a canon of work might look like, is today much more so than in the past, itself a topic of discussion. Unquestionable though is the fact that material as well as immaterial cultural goods must be protected and preserved, in order to shape both our Present and our Future.”

However, the actual realisation of these ideals was largely instrumental with projects concentrating on more access for the general public to dance scholarship through seminars and additional support for the publication of scholarly texts, whilst the 'Kulturerbe' initiative concentrated on the creation of an on-line archive of dance.

6.6.5 Summary and Discussion

The analysis of the text demonstrated that advocacy is the hegemonic discourse characterising Tanzplan's attempts to promote a federal form of representation for dance and legitimise its own existence. The implications of this are significant given the fact that not since the end of the Second World War has dance been represented and funded centrally in Germany and that the legacy of this period is still obvious today in the distributed, autonomous structure of cultural organizations at regional and municipal levels. As an advocate Tanzplan emphasised its co-ordinating and networking function throughout the programme and maintained an ambiguity about itself and its role that accommodated a variety of interpretations (Tanzplan [8], 2011, p.2). Even in the early stages of Tanzplan Deutschland the potential of using it as a test case for European cultural policy making was mooted (Ploebst, 2008, pp.6-7). Examples of similar dance plan initiatives launched in Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, Denmark and the Netherlands were cited as justification for Tanzplan Deutschland and parallels between various national plans were drawn to raise provocative questions about the potential of a European Master Plan, e.g. concerning the consequences for the aesthetic discourse, production requirements, education, cultural politics and for the status of dance as an art form in European society.

Towards the end of the Tanzplan initiative (2009-2010) a discourse concerning an overarching permanent cultural-political representative body emerged in the form of a call to create a national dance centre. Tanzplan gradually created a political agenda to champion a federal representative body for dance. The success of Tanzplan, as a Masterplan that combined targeted funding with a strategic co-ordination role, was articulated in such a way that it suggested existing forms of regional co-operation were inadequate to secure

dance's rightful place alongside other major art forms. In other words, only a central advisory body could effectively navigate the territory between politics, the administration of cultural activity and artists themselves (Boldt, 2011b, pp.21-22). Examples were cited of similar initiatives having been successfully developed in other countries.

What emerged overall from the text analysis was a set of arguments that attempted to promote the advantages of centralisation. Both a logical and ethical case was made for the centralisation of German dance initiatives in an attempt to overcome the historical opposition to centralisation stemming from the Nazi era. Furthermore the logical and ethical arguments were based on establishing the legitimacy and identity of dance alongside the other major art forms in Germany through a federally sponsored programme of locally administered projects that supported not only performance artists, but also educationalists, archivists and researchers. This emphasis on collaboration, both nationally and increasingly internationally, in order to create sustainable performance, teaching and resource networks in the German context served to reinforce Tanzplan's rhetoric in support of a national dance centre.

A second key insight was the use of the distinctive term 'kulturelle Bildung' (cultural education) in policy and Tanzplan texts and its discursive function in accommodating both extrinsic and intrinsic logics for dance under one heading to balance both the artistic-aesthetic and the social-market logics. Although cultural education acted as a unifier for advocates from both sides of the intrinsic-extrinsic divide tensions did arise that were deflected by Tanzplan exploiting ambiguity about its role to identify the initiatives as "...an educational offensive" (Ritter [cited in Luzina, 2011]).

Accordingly, the four discourses that we identified in the policy texts, namely *advocacy*, *sustainability*, *dance education and training* and *dance scholarship* also mirrored the claims made about the aesthetic and social importance of cultural education (kkb, 2008, pp. 1-12; Diehl, 2011, p.73). When references were made in texts linked to the Tanzplan initiative to social welfare benefits they formed part of a broader cultural training argument that argued for a place in the German educational system alongside art, music or literature (Ständige Konferenz Tanz, 2006). Where discourses emphasised the artistic-aesthetic logic they also foregrounded the ethical value of culture as a focal point for a nation's identity. Hence Dance Scholarship was not justified

simply for its own sake, but also as a means to preserve national cultural heritage (Völckers, 2009, p.3).

The discourse of ‘sustainability’ was a nuanced one, which combined not only questions about sources of funding, but also the process by which funding decisions were reached. The Matched Funding Principle that was applied to Tanzplan applications facilitated collaboration and commitment to local projects and brought different parties who would often be competitors for the same resources (e.g. institutional and freelance) together to negotiate for the funds. Also, the limited period of five years ensured that recipients did not become complacent (Ritter, 2011, p.8). In that respect the sustainability discourse also served a pedagogic purpose by obligating different parties to conform to an externally determined process in order to gain access to funding and to improve their chances of continuing to receive support beyond the duration of Tanzplan. Thus the sustainability discourse inferred that changes to previously embedded institutional practices were necessary if cultural administrators and artists were to collaborate successfully in the future.

Fourthly, in spite of an obvious concern with funding for dance there was an absence of an overt ‘economic advantage’ argument in the Tanzplan texts in support of the arts. This discourse was managed jointly by another government ministry, the Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology and by the Federal Commissioner for Culture and Media in a separate initiative called ‘Kultur und Kreativwirtschaft’ (English: Cultural and Creative Economy). The sustained emphasis throughout the duration of the Tanzplan initiative on the aesthetic, social and cultural benefits of dance differentiated it from the experience of the UK and was exemplified by the significant commitment made to the German cultural sector in November 2012 when the German Minister for Culture, Bernd Neumann, announced an overall spending increase of ca. 8% for 2013⁸⁵.

In summary we argue that a key institutional text such as a policy document or report can be deployed to challenge previously dominant logics and conduct significant ‘institutional work’. Thus, the role of the Tanzplan Abschlussdokument (Tanzplan [8], 2011) was similar to that of the example cited by Brown et al. (2012). Furthermore, by posing the role and purpose of

⁸⁵ Source: <http://www.bundespresseportal.de/bundesmeldungen/item/6274-kulturstaatsminister> . Published 9 November 2012.

Tanzplan as a series of questions at various stages in the text using rhetorical devices such as logos, ethos and pathos, the text deflected historical objections to centralised governance of cultural policy by acknowledging different agendas for the initiative amongst a diverse group of protagonists. Also, by maintaining sufficient ambiguity in the text's declarations Tanzplan was able to accommodate multiple views about dance and its role and purpose in Germany and use this as a basis for justifying the need to create a truly national representative dance centre.

6.7 Conclusions

Since the 1990s both Germany and the UK have responded to the impact of neo-liberal politics and new public management discourses on the management of subsidised cultural activities and services through the articulation of cultural policies that embrace both social as well as artistic objectives, modifications to administrative structures and changes to funding levels and models. The nature of the responses has varied, being partly dependent on historical attitudes towards culture in general, the role of cultural activity as a political, economic and social instrument and the national and regional governance structures in place for funding and managing cultural activity. For example, whereas in countries like the UK centralised policy making and funding has been the norm since WW2, in Germany the federated, autonomous nature of cultural politics, involving administrators at a federal, regional and municipal level has resulted in highly localised, fragmented approaches to the arts and their support.

In both countries the dance sector has been relatively under-represented in terms of structural development and support since the Second World War and as a minority art form it has been particularly vulnerable to the vicissitudes of cultural policy making. Support for classical forms of dance has been more obvious than that for contemporary dance and only relatively recently have dedicated policies been formulated for dance. In both the UK and Germany the key dance policy texts were used for a variety of purposes including legitimating alternative concepts of professionalism and rationalising the need for more centralised political representation of the sector. Moreover, both reflected Brown et al.'s (2012, pp.301-302) view on the role and importance that

government documents such as inquiry reports or policy documents can serve in bestowing discursive legitimacy on particular groups of actors and perspectives and acting as ‘authorial strategies’.

In the analysis we have demonstrated that the ambiguous definition of the term ‘dance’ is particularly problematic in the example of the UK and has left it vulnerable to alternative or insurgent logics of practice that challenge the hegemony of the artistic-aesthetic rationale for dance. Consequently UK dance is subject to discourses that endorse alternative interpretations of legitimacy, identity and artistic practice. Although the ACE is the strategic representative for dance in the UK, its position in a governance structure dominated by other forms of cultural management, i.e. the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) has weakened its advocate role and resulted in its objectives being attached to more prominent government aims on social welfare.

In Germany the cultural governance structures are more complex due to the federated nature of cultural policy making and implementation. However, in spite of this complexity the organisers of Tanzplan were able to create a successful co-ordinated approach to furthering the aims of dance in Germany through the Tanzplan programme and use this to endorse an advocacy discourse favouring centralised representation for the sector. Moreover, by applying the overarching term of ‘cultural education’ to blend both artistic-aesthetic and social-market logics into one, Tanzplan was able to reinforce its claims as an advocate of multiple disciplines within the dance sector in Germany throughout the period of the programme. This function was enhanced through the guaranteed funding process Tanzplan applied to bring about consensus amongst applicants and ensure their co-operation for the five years’ duration of the programme. In spite of this co-ordinated approach the unique nature of the Tanzplan initiative and the diversity of its projects did surface some of the entrenched interests of the genres and the difficulty of articulating a common position for all dance forms (Völckers, 2011, p.7). These differences encompassed institutional versus freelance cultural production as well as variations in the practices of classical and contemporary dance forms.

Funding and the funding application and allocation processes were shown to be important pedagogic practices and sensegiving mechanisms in both the UK and Germany. Whereas the UK policy discourse exploited the ambiguity of dance as an art form and/ or physical activity to direct the dance

sector towards less reliance on public subsidy and the adoption of more entrepreneurial behaviours, the German funding discourse encouraged greater collaboration as well as active participation in the funding of initiatives through the Match Funding approach and linked the process to the discourse of sustainability for the dance sector. In the UK dance discourses the term ‘entrepreneurial’ became closely associated with creativity as an economic activity and the acquisition of commercial skills by dance professionals was actively promoted. In German discourses the economic advantage of cultural activity was dealt with independently of Tanzplan and thus there was no overt conflation of artistic and commercially creative activity.

In Chapter Seven (7) we examine how the policy discourses were appropriated in order to understand the nature of the power relationships between dance practitioners and cultural and political organizations and how these relationships affected notions of legitimacy, identity and artistic practice.

CHAPTER SEVEN IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

7.1 Introduction

What bearing does ‘instrumental’ cultural policy making have on claims to legitimacy, notions of identity and forms of aesthetic-artistic practice amongst organizations involved in the UK and German contemporary dance sectors? To answer this question we applied discursive methods to examine various texts created by individuals and organizations in the dance sector in response to logics and discourses that privileged extrinsic cultural policy objectives at the expense of intrinsic ones. The purpose was to examine how legitimacy, identity, and practice were influenced or modified by dance practitioners as a consequence of the insurgent logics being introduced. By examining discourses for evidence of compliance or conflict we identified the degree to which practitioners were prepared to comply. This took into account the context and historical background of the case examples chosen for the comparison between the UK and Germany.

We argue that in spite of policies that are overtly instrumental the responses at different levels in the dance field vary and that these rationales are both historically contingent and influenced by the habitus (or dispositions) of the organizations and actors in question.

In presenting our arguments we firstly discuss the implications of the discourses identified in Chapter Six (6) for the legitimacy, identity and artistic practice of the UK case examples, Dance Umbrella and The Place through an analysis of texts produced in response. We then conduct the same exercise with the German case examples, HZT and the freelance sector in Berlin. Finally we examine the degree of convergence and divergence between the policy and practitioner discourses to gain insight into the power relationships between cultural and political institutions and practitioners as they compete for the right to determine the criteria on which the field and its claims to legitimacy, identity and practice are founded.

7.2 UK Dance Practice – Impact of the Logics of Excellence, Access and Healthy Living

The 2004 UK Government report on dance, HC 587-I, introduced three seminal themes that described the then Government's view of dance's role in the UK. These themes, *excellence*, *accessibility* and *healthy living*, were reinforced by rhetoric that variously articulated rational, ethical or emotional arguments for supporting dance and exploited the historically contested definition and role of dance as both an art form and a sporting or physical activity. The discourses underpinning these themes were derived from other government agendas of the day such as social inclusion and demonstrated how dance, by its very nature as an inter-disciplinary, physical art form could easily be 'attached' to policies that emphasised both artistic and non-artistic aims. These alternative discourses were in turn appropriated by participants in the dance field to achieve specific objectives such as legitimating extrinsic institutional logics that conflicted with the traditional hegemony of the artist-performer. This was done through various means, including constructing alternative definitions of identity, legitimacy and aesthetic-artistic practice within the dance sector by linking them to multivalent terms such as *excellence*, *professionalism*, *creativity* and *entrepreneurialism*.

The two cases selected are representative organizations in the UK for contemporary dance. Both perform highly visible roles in the UK in promoting dance by training professional dancers and choreographers and/ or giving them the chance to experience live performance and experimentation through the staging of works in professionally managed environments.

Alongside the festival Dance Umbrella, the UK's premier dance contemporary dance festival, we chose one of the country's most prominent organizations involved in contemporary dance training, performance and promotion, The Place. Both organizations are based in London, which is the centre for contemporary dance in the UK. Both are internationally as well as domestically well-known with a reputation for encouraging choreographers from across the globe to come to London and perform.

The examples of The Place and Dance Umbrella are illustrative of the way in which the sector is structured and operates in the UK. We examine how the discourses associated with the policy themes of excellence, access and healthy living affect notions of legitimacy, identity and aesthetic-artistic

practice in both organizations. Sources of data comprised texts including organizational web site downloads (e.g. downloads of annual reports and HTML texts), on-line press commentary, newspaper articles, journal and transcribed interviews.

Legitimacy, identity, and creativity were chosen as the key dimensions for the analysis as they represent common sources of tension and conflict occurring at different levels within fields when field participants (organizations and individuals) experience significant change to their environment. All three dimensions are key determinants of how organizations and individuals make sense of their environment and their role and purpose in it when confronted by change.

Firstly, legitimacy is important in policy terms as its recognition not only determines who has bestowed it, but also how. In a political context legitimation is a strategic function that acts as a key determinant of group and actor behaviours (Chilton & Schäffner, 1997, p.212). True legitimacy in a field is closely associated with the possession and control of symbolic capital⁸⁶, i.e. the currency of legitimacy for the affected actors (Everett, 2002, p.64).

Secondly, identity is regarded as a carrier of numerous organizational activities such as decision-making or the exercise of discretion, organizational change and stakeholder management, whereas the process of its formation is closely related to efforts to gain legitimacy within an organizational field and to articulate differentiating factors that distinguish the organization from others in its field. These may include new or insurgent logics. Albert et al. (2000, p.14) maintain that:

“...it is because identity is problematic – and yet so crucial to how and what one values, thinks, feels and does in all social domains, including organizations – that the dynamics of identity need to be better understood.”

Thirdly, creativity is a core concept closely associated with aesthetic-artistic practice. Traditionally, it has been associated with the creation of works that are original in some form, i.e. have not been directly derived from other

⁸⁶ Symbolic capital is used in the Bourdieuan sense to mean a form of ‘collective belief’ that stems from social esteem as well as material wealth in which symbolic systems provide hierarchies and forms of classification that separate dominant groups from dominated groups. Examples of symbolic systems include art, religion, science and language. Source: Swartz, 1997.

sources. Different aspects of the work or its performance can be regarded as creative, but through the discursive use of language to associate creativity with characteristics or attributes that are not purely aesthetic or artistic the term creativity can assume other connotations and be applied to non-artistic activity as well. This reflects Jeffcutt and Pratt's (2002, p.226) contention that: "Creativity requires a context and organization". In other words it is a concept that is fluid and that combines knowledge, networks and technologies with specific situations and ideas. Furthermore, the ability to construct creativity as both an outcome and a process or practice makes it relatively easy to create meronymic links between words and phrases that exploit commercial as well as artistic notions of success. This is something we examine in detail in our analysis of the impact of policy discourse on artistic autonomy in our case examples.

7.3 Dance Umbrella

Dance Umbrella was founded in 1978 with the aim of reflecting and encouraging the burgeoning interest in contemporary dance in Britain. From modest beginnings as a showcase for emerging choreographers, Dance Umbrella's annual London festival now ranks highly among Europe's leading international dance festivals and the organization is recognised as one of Britain's most adventurous dance promoters presenting an annual festival as well as regional tours from overseas companies.⁸⁷

Until Dance Umbrella was founded the only other dance festivals in existence were the Association of Dance and Mime Artists (ADMA), founded in 1976, and the Dartington festivals, first held in 1978. Both these festivals were intended more as showcase events for performers and students alike, with classes and workshops running in parallel with performances. The quality of performances varied considerably since neither applied a selection process to participants.

Both festivals were run with very limited resources, but subsidies were available to encourage the expansion of the public audience for dance and it

⁸⁷ Taken from web site, August 2009.

was with this aim in mind that Val Bourne, the artistic director and guiding light for 28 years until the end of 2006, founded the Dance Umbrella festival.

The inspiration for Dance Umbrella came from the New York festivals organised and administered by so-called 'Managements' on behalf of smaller dance companies. Taking on the role of manager, the administrative companies applied for funding to enable the staging of two or three week festivals at central venues in New York City. The demand for a suitable management function proposed by Dance Umbrella was evident from the outset and a management service, separate from the festival, was set up to provide a shared administrative service to small London-based companies and solo artists; to organise conferences and seminars concerned with dance and to develop a central information service for such groups and for those wishing to promote dance events (Rowell, 2000, pp.21-22).

During the planning of the first Dance Umbrella festival a number of objectives were formulated that reflected a broader vision for contemporary dance than the artist-focused Dartington Hall and ADMA festivals:

- To give British artists an opportunity to present their work to its best advantage in established arts centres with proper technical facilities and staff;
- To focus public attention on an area of work thought to be important and worthy of support;
- To prove that there was an interested public for these artists when presented as part of a festival, with the kind of attendant publicity, promotion and press coverage that they could not command independently.⁸⁸

In fact the influence of American contemporary dance was to remain very much a feature in the early years of the festival, in spite of the Arts Council's initial reluctance to promote foreign performers and works. As Bonnie Rowell observed in her reflections on the festival, *Dance Umbrella: The First Twenty-One Years* (2000, pp.17-18) the American/European balance of the festivals was to become a key issue in later years, but might have been somewhat different if Germany's Pina Bausch had not had to cancel her first London appearance with her company at the second festival in 1980.

⁸⁸ *Dance Umbrella Festivals: a paper for discussion*, 7 June 1982 quoted in Rowell, 2000.

Despite the pressures on funding and the heavy reliance on volunteers the first festival proved a success and led to the board to campaign for Dance Umbrella to be funded as a ‘permanent catalyst, research, co-ordination and presentation body for contemporary dance’⁸⁹. During the 1980s the management service became so successful that additional staff were hired to support marketing and press activities. Over the course of those years a few dance companies grew to the point where they could appoint their own administrator, but the work load continued to increase for the Dance Umbrella team to such an extent that by 1987 the Arts Council “...concluded that the service was fulfilling no one’s expectations and was draining resources from the Festival” (Dick, [cited in Rowell, 2000, p. 24]). Despite these reservations it did mean that contemporary dance lost an important support for raising funds and publicising the genre both in and beyond London, something it did not regain for a number of years during which period the festival’s financial status remained precarious and made it dependent on numerous sponsors.

7.3.1 Legitimacy: Rebranding or refocusing?

The unexpectedly severe cut in funding of 43% over three years from 2012 onwards imposed by the ACE in March 2011 arguably questioned Dance Umbrella future. The implications for the festival were diplomatically articulated in the statement made by the then Artistic Director of Dance Umbrella, Betsy Gregory, immediately after the funding announcements in March 2011:

“The Arts Council of England has recognised the value that Dance Umbrella brings to the arts in London. At the same time they have set us a severe challenge: to bring a vibrant programme of new dance to London but with severely reduced resources. The challenge is now to raise significantly more funds from private sources, an area where we have had great success, at a time when there is increased competition in this area.”⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Source: Mackrell, J. (1992), p.32 quoted in Rowell, 2000, p.17.

⁹⁰ Source: Dance Umbrella web site, accessed 30.03.2011

Again, in the wake of the funding cuts, Dance Umbrella faced a situation reminiscent of 2006. Then, in spite of its obvious and continuing success the festival experienced a period of uncertainty following Val Bourne's retirement. Such had been the growth of contemporary dance in London particularly that Dance Umbrella found itself struggling to distinguish itself from the myriad performance venues situated around the capital. Sadler's Wells have established an all-year-round programme of events around London and outside London the Dance Consortium and various regional festivals ensure a varied choice of contemporary dance independent of the UK tours that Dance Umbrella organised in the past. Consequently, the Festival organisers were faced with the dilemma of either choosing to continue Val Bourne's heritage or adopt an entirely new approach.

As Judith Mackrell in her Guardian column observed at the time:

"...there are strong practical as well as emotional reasons for supporting Umbrella's status quo. As a concentrated six-to-eight week festival, embracing all the dance venues of London and programming a range of large and small-scale work, it is able to benefit the entire dance scene. It gives the art form's profile a huge annual boost, and as a brand name it helps market some of the artists who might otherwise slip under the radar" (Mackrell, 2006).

Amongst observers the initial speculation as to the rationale behind the 2011 cuts suggested that London as the festival's base was to blame (Mackrell, 2011; Crompton, 2011). However, as Mackrell (2011) pointed out Dance Umbrella had had a lead role in the UK for commissioning as well as presenting new work both in London and regionally from its inception.

This aspect of Dance Umbrella's value to the contemporary dance scene was also echoed by Sarah Crompton in The Telegraph when she interviewed the festival's artistic director, Betsy Gregory:

"As to the big question - does London really need a festival of dance, when there is so much contemporary dance around - Gregory is defiant. She thinks Dance Umbrella builds new audiences, encourages audiences to be more adventurous and brings to attention works that would never be commissioned normally. "Generally speaking, a diversity of programming is very important," she says. "A single or a

couple of voices is not enough for a city like London” ” (Crompton, 2011).

Ironically, just nine months previously representatives from the UK dance sector had met as part of Dance East’s 6th Rural Retreat for Future Leaders & Artistic Directors, an annual networking event for current and aspiring artistic directors, to discuss the need to unify dance. Whereas older policy discourses had focussed on diversity between dance genres as a distinct advantage (ACE, 2006), this new discourse in fact equated diversity with fragmentation and confusion and reinforced the instrumental concerns about the lack of a single, unambiguous identity for dance (Burns & Harrison, 2009, p.152).

Guest speakers from the world of advertising were invited to speak about the power of brand awareness and:

“...inspired the 26 to call for a unifying, re-branding under the umbrella of “Brand Dance”. By moving away from a focus on the fragmentation of specific dance forms, the group agreed that a generic focus on dance would combat elitism and promote the art form as inclusive, relevant and accessible” (Watts, 2012).

Reminiscent of a similar event in the early 1980s when representatives of the dance sector at the time met to discuss the status of dance and its lack of funding compared to other art forms, the conclusion reached by the group for the under-funding was felt, according to Rowell (2000, p.25), to be caused ‘primarily by dance’s lack of public voice’.

In this example therefore there was a shift in discourse towards legitimising dance by making it more popular and universalizing its image by blurring boundaries and distinctions between genres. This perspective is clearly at odds with the stance taken by Dance Umbrella as a distinctly unique vehicle for promoting the creation and performance of contemporary dance. In the following section we examine the implications for the festival’s identity and then explore how it responded to the budget cuts in its 2012 programme both discursively and in practice.

7.3.2 Identity and Dance Umbrella – Talent Scouting, Promoting the Fringe or Populist Vehicle?

Both the ‘founder’ of Dance Umbrella, Val Bourne, and her successor, Betsy Gregory were trained as professional dancers (Bourne at the Royal Ballet and Gregory at the London Contemporary Dance School). This underscores the importance of Dance Umbrella in supporting dance as a performing art form.

However, from its inception the Festival’s international outlook has been at odds with the objectives of ACE. Even the name Dance Umbrella was not the first choice, but only adopted when the Arts Council claimed that the original name of Dance Exchange:

“...implied international exchange, and at that time the Arts Council did not fund international companies” (Rowell, 2000, p.14).

Such was the narrow, parochial outlook of UK public funding for culture at the time that becoming an international festival was almost accidental. As Val Bourne recalled:

“...in the beginning it was conceived as a domestic showcase. For the first few years we had to prove that we weren’t spending any Arts Council money on foreigners. When we presented our accounts we had to show that we had received money from elsewhere to support the foreign invasion. I think things are very different now; it was quite a parochial little Englander mentality at the time. There was so little money available for dance or contemporary dance that people were very protective of it” (Bourne, 2003).

Since its inception Dance Umbrella has always been vulnerable financially. Although it is a registered charity, Dance Umbrella receives most of its income from public sources of funding. Support from individuals, therefore, plays a vital role in enabling important work to be presented that otherwise would not be staged⁹¹. Corporate sponsorship is also an important source of funding for the festival and both forms of giving are actively encouraged. Individuals are also offered the chance to volunteer during the

⁹¹ Dance Umbrella web site: <http://www.danceumbrella.co.uk/page/3033/Individuals> [Accessed 18 February 2011].

period the Festival runs and in return they are offered the prospect of attending performances and meeting staff and artists.

Expansion and innovation tend to be supported from awards and sponsorship obtained from the private sector. This was necessary given the large increase in and growing sophistication of audiences since 1978. For example by 1991 Dance Umbrella had an audience totalling some 20,000 (compared with 4,000 in 1978); making it one of the largest festivals of contemporary dance in the world. The £1,000,000 Prudential Awards in 1992 and the £168,000 grant awarded by the European Arts Festival secured the participation of companies from mainland Europe and allowed a degree of regional touring to take place. Unfortunately, in 1994 the Prudential Awards were not repeated and the festival was obliged to cancel an invitation made to Merce Cunningham and return to an uncertain dependence on public funding.

Terminology and semantics lay at the heart of other differences between Dance Umbrella and ACE. The term ‘cultural diversity’ was seen by Val Bourne to be too narrowly focused on colour rather than artistic diversity and although she insisted that Dance Umbrella was:

“...a flagship for cultural diversity [but] that may not be how it is interpreted here in a very PC [politically correct] situation” (Bourne, 2003).

Moreover, whilst Dance Umbrella regularly featured disabled and ethnic performers, Bourne pointed out that this should not be construed as part of a social welfare agenda and lamented that:

“... the arts are seen as the flag bearers for all this stuff and that sometimes it does get in the way of excellence. I do agree that there should be positive discrimination but sometimes it gets crazy” (Bourne, 2003).

However, with the retirement of Val Bourne in 2006 the festival faced the dilemma of either choosing to continue of Val Bourne’s heritage or adopt an entirely new approach. A view emerged that in the face of so much ‘competition’ from other dance initiatives the festival faced:

“...an increasingly hard task to assert its identity. Audiences (and critics) often fail to distinguish festival performances from those that are part of the regular dance programme. It may be the case that the

only way of reinforcing the Umbrella brand would be to strip it back to its original mission - and focus exclusively on work that hasn't yet achieved a high profile" (Mackrell, 2006).

Suggestions to scale down the festival and focus only on fringe trends, such as non-theatrical performance or choreography that employs new technology, or target new audiences or talent were also proposed, but although these suggestions were all possible and would certainly have been cheaper than the schedule that had become the norm it was recognised that:

"...a scaled-down festival with scaled-down funds would have to make a lot of extra noise to be seen and heard over the hubbub of its rivals" (Mackrell, 2006).

This proved to be an anticipatory example of sensemaking. In the wake of the drastic funding cuts imposed by ACE on Dance Umbrella in 2011 similar arguments to those discussed in 2006 when Val Bourne retired were again being aired as a way of rationalising the exceptionally large reduction in funding:

"My suspicion is that the AC may be responding to what it perceives to be an increase in the availability of dance in London over the past 30 years. And certainly it is true that both Sadler's Wells, the South Bank Centre and The Place now provide a pretty substantial bill of round-the year dance" (Crompton, 2011)⁹².

Tellingly, this development hinted at a lack of diversity in programming amongst venues, possibly linked to funding uncertainty and complacency as venues attempted to fill seats with guaranteed audiences; something easier to do with established performers and works than emerging ones. Moreover the lack of a dedicated venue, initially seen as a distinguishing feature of Dance Umbrella, was now a disadvantage for the festival, making it easier to oblige the organisers to change its format since there was no pressure to maintain a physical all-year presence.

In the wake of the 2011 cuts to budgets the festival's schedule was indeed shortened and a single venue format introduced in 2012, which evoked

⁹² Source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/theatre/dance/8618016/This-years-Dance-Umbrella-has-a-reflective-tone.html>. [Accessed March 11 2013].

memories of the founding years of the festival as an avant-garde promoter of new talent. Dance Umbrella had effectively decided to return to its roots as a premier talent scouting festival and resist external pressures to become a populist vehicle.

Ironically, some of the issues faced by Dance Umbrella in the wake of the 2011 funding cuts had been raised as concerns in 2003 by its then artistic director. However, in spite of these pressures Dance Umbrella was able to rationalise the developments in cultural policy and contemporary dance whilst retaining a view of itself as the leading promoter of artistic excellence and innovation on the UK contemporary dance scene throughout the New Labour administration. With the disruptive effect of the 2011 funding cuts a distinct change in rhetoric became noticeable as Dance Umbrella reprised an identity discourse reminiscent of its beginnings. In the following section we analyse attempts to justify and maintain this position in terms of aesthetic-artistic practice as discourses emerged aimed at creating a more homogeneous identity for dance and broadening its appeal across all genres in the wake of the government's austerity measures.

7.3.3 Artistic Practice: Social-Market Appeal versus Artistic Autonomy?

Dance Umbrella, as a performing arts organization, can be legitimately categorised as belonging to the creative industries, namely, performing

“...activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (Townley et al., 2009, p.939).

For such undertakings to be deemed successful creative products must be both of aesthetic and economic value. However, whereas the criteria determining the first are generally generated within the field, in this case, dance, criteria determining economic viability are mostly determined externally, in this case the general public (as members of the audience) and cultural funding bodies such as ACE (Townley et al., 2009, p.955). In the case of ACE the economic value of the arts is closely linked to socio-economic

goals promulgated by the UK Government as a whole and is an example of policy attachment.

The difficulties inherent in maintaining a balance between the two poles were implicitly recognised in an interview that Val Bourne gave to Bonnie Rowell for the book *Dance Umbrella: The First Twenty-One Years*⁹³, where the broadening definition of culture and the obligation to be accessible to wider audiences were making the future difficult to predict for Dance Umbrella as a promoter of modern dance in the UK::

“...programming is far more speculative than it used to be, and because of funding patterns there is a need to keep coming up with new projects, some of which will happen, some of which will not. []. ‘The dance ecology has been thrown out, as Bourne puts it, but temporarily, let’s hope’ ” (Rowell, 2000, p. 164).⁹⁴

The blandness of ACE’s 2011 comments about Dance Umbrella’s funding application, albeit complimentary, put the onus on the festival’s organisers to adapt in order to survive in the face of the 43% cut in funding. By exemplifying Dance Umbrella’s compliance with two of ACE’s goals, namely:

⁹³ Source: Rowell, B. 2000. *Dance Umbrella: The First Twenty-One Years*. London, Dance Books, p. 163.

⁹⁴ Val Bourne anticipated the growing uncertainty and complexity of programming as long ago as 1999 (Rowell, 2000, p. 163-164) when she observed that several factors are involved:

- the changing complexion of government funding: trying to play the ‘new audiences’ funding initiative, with the present government’s policy of making money available for attracting new audiences to any cultural event, and its wide interpretation of the concept of ‘culture’ (anything from sport, through the arts to heritage);
- the huge amount of dance currently on offer in the capital (particularly from ballet companies) and the very high prices that are being charged (particularly at Sadler’s Wells but also at the Peacock Theatre and the Barbican), which leaves a question mark not so much over whether London audiences will have had a surfeit by the autumn, but over whether they will be able to afford more;
- an increase in the number of suitable theatres currently available: for example, the newly reopened Sadler’s Wells, the Peacock Theatre which housed Sadler’s Wells events during its closure and continues to be available for dance events, and the Barbican with its newly refurbished stage;
- theatre festivals such as LIFT⁹⁴ (the biennial London International Festival of Theatre, which brings avant-garde overseas performers to London) that now include dance within their remit, as well as running seasons specifically for dance (such as Turning World), which deal with the same sorts of international companies as does Umbrella.

*Goal 1: Talent and artistic excellence are thriving and celebrated and Goal 2: More people experience and are inspired by the arts*⁹⁵,

there was a subliminal suggestion that Dance Umbrella did not sufficiently satisfy the other goals, i.e. *Goal 3: The arts are sustainable, resilient and innovative*;

Goal 4: The arts leadership and workforce are diverse and highly skilled; or

*Goal 5: Every child and young person has the opportunity to experience the richness of the arts*⁹⁶.

When considered against the background of the aforementioned creative industries' debate the implication of the ACE statement was that the aesthetic value, or artistic excellence and inspirational effect of the arts was ranked 'lower' than the social-market value represented by goals 3-5.

Furthermore, the ambiguity of terms such as 'sustainable' and 'resilient' also represented a challenge for Dance Umbrella as it searched for a response to the funding cuts that would enable it to prosper in the future. As Royce (2011, pp.12-13) argued the term 'sustainable', although used frequently to describe business models and organizations that are capable of surviving beyond the short-term, now has more environmental connotations whereas 'resilient' is regarded as a characteristic that makes organizations more adaptable, and flexible in responding to risks and opportunities whilst maintaining their operations.

2012, the first year that Dance Umbrella had to operate in much reduced circumstances, appeared to take the festival back to its roots. In announcing the plans, Betsy Gregory, the artistic director talked about doing something 'adventurous and unusual', inviting an artist from the festival's early years to co-curate and promising a programme featuring artists performing for the first time in the UK. The response to the cuts appeared to focus even more intensely on dance innovation than ever:

"Many of the artists are making their UK debuts in the festival and all are creating work which is in the forefront of developments in dance today and gives us a glimpse into the future" (Gregory, 2012).

⁹⁵Direct references are made on the Dance Umbrella's web site under 'About Us'. Source: Dance Umbrella web site. <http://www.danceumbrella.co.uk/page/2/About+Us>. [Accessed on March 15 2011].

⁹⁶Reference source for ACE goals: The National Portfolio Funding Programme: Guidance for applicants. 2010, pp. 12-13.

The rhetoric indicated a strong emphasis on artistic integrity and innovation, not on compliance with social goals of inclusivity and accessibility. As the interviewer pointed out later in the article Gregory and her co-curator, the choreographer, Jonathan Burrows were to:

“...promise a programme of adventurous new work ‘which broadens the definition of dance’ and ‘represents the frontline of current practice’ ” (Smith, 2012).

However, some reviews following the actual festival performances later in 2012 were more ambivalent in their judgement. After voicing strong support for Dance Umbrella the previous year, The Telegraph’s Arts Editor in Chief, Sarah Crompton, in a review entitled “What Strictly Come Dancing can teach Dance Umbrella” , lamented the fact that whilst she found something to enjoy in every piece:

“...none of the works had any content that most people would recognise as dance. There was a lot of philosophising about dance, but hardly any movement, let alone actual steps” (Crompton, 2012).

The esoteric nature of the performances was, in Crompton’s opinion, hampering enjoyment by lay audiences. As she contended:

“Much of the thinking surrounding contemporary dance of this kind would suggest that wanting dance to provoke an emotional response is a shallow attitude to the art form. I not only want it, but think it is the key to interesting more people in dance in general.”

Although Crompton went on to reject the notion that Dance Umbrella should pursue a populist (mass) entertainment agenda and claimed that there was a place for work that is demanding, inventive and analytical, she saw a danger that:

“...in reshaping its purpose, it can’t retreat into the kind of theoretical formalism that dominated the dance scene in the late Seventies. If it is to survive, it needs more than good new premises – it needs to find its own Strictly factor” (Crompton, 2012).

Here was a tangible example of the implications of the Rebranding Dance idea developed during the Dance East retreat. Specifically, a ‘generic’

focus on dance inevitably signalled a shift towards those genres that are entertaining to watch, likely to provoke an emotional rather than an intellectual response and that do not require specialised knowledge or ability in order to participate. For Dance Umbrella the inference is that there is no way back to the artistic practices of previous years. However, the alternative to become more populist once again undermines the festival's reason for being and may herald further change in the future.

7.3.4 Dance Umbrella: Summary and Discussion

Since its creation the Dance Umbrella festival has been at odds with the cultural and political establishment, particularly the ACE and this in spite of the fact that one of its founders had a background in arts administration as well as professional dance.

Whilst its founders were clear about the festival's role in promoting contemporary dance as an art form, the objectives of the Arts Council frequently appeared to conflict with those of the organizers. Initially seen as a modest showcase for British performers, the ambitions of the founders were much greater and envisioned an international festival that would attract those artists who were as yet relatively unknown, but showed the potential for creative innovation. Choreographers like Michael Clark and Lloyd Newson of DV8 were just two of the creative risks that the directors of Dance Umbrella took in the early years⁹⁷.

However, by the time Val Bourne retired the model that Dance Umbrella had created was in question. Its role and scale as a platform for contemporary dance were now challenged, given the growth of the dance scene, in London in particular, since its foundation (Mackrell, 2006). Not only the increasing availability of contemporary dance generally, but also a shift towards more international and established artists placed Dance Umbrella in direct competition with other venues like Sadlers Wells. The emphasis on quality had resulted in the make-up of some companies becoming more internationally diverse and as the festival became more prestigious the featured

⁹⁷ Source: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/theobserver/2003/sep/21/features.review27>. [Accessed 19 July 2013].

companies increasingly represented established names. Fledgling, experimental work gradually transferred to other festivals such as The Place's Spring Loaded! and Resolution events (Rowell, 2000, pp. 97-98).

As the audience for dance increased Dance Umbrella began to vary its educational programmes and although it continued to support workshops and site-specific work the need to ensure continuity of funding for the festival inevitably led it to rely more on companies and performers who had already achieved international recognition.

Between 1978 and 2011 Dance Umbrella gradually evolved from being a platform for untried, experimental British choreography and dance into a renowned mainstream international festival. It was no longer primarily a talent scout or advocate of fringe works, but was increasingly focused on ensuring that the audiences and appeal of the festival were maintained, if not increased. Although obliged to be responsive to social welfare agendas as well as artistic ones Dance Umbrella resisted efforts to turn it into a flagship for more narrowly defined forms of cultural diversity (Bourne, 2003). However, its increasingly populist appeal, in fact, served to blur its differentiating characteristics from other venues.

Two critical junctures were to cause the Festival and its observers to examine its role and identity on the British dance scene. The first was the retirement of its founding artistic director, Val Bourne, in 2006. This occurred at a time when funding and support for dance were highly visible, coming as it did two years after the publication of the House of Commons Report on dance and other notable publications like the 2006 Dance Manifesto. Although this caused some reflection, Dance Umbrella continued to operate much as it had done under Val Bourne, its founder, when her deputy, Betsy Gregory, took over.

The second critical event was the founding round of 2011 when the ACE imposed a 43% cut in its subsidies for Dance Umbrella. A cut of this magnitude suggested that not only was Dance Umbrella expected to perform a different role if it was to survive, but that the criteria for ascribing legitimacy to the organization had changed⁹⁸. The very act of transferring Dance Umbrella to

⁹⁸ Some previously highly successful dance companies did not survive. Lea Anderson's company The Cholmondeleys disbanded after receiving no grant and failing to be adopted into the portfolio of funded organizations. Source: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-14475985>.

national portfolio funded status bestowed a degree of legitimacy, but the large cut in funding effectively served to diminish its symbolic value, by shifting the balance in rationale towards the extrinsic with its emphasis on commercial viability.

The programme for the 2012 festival was drastically different from previous ones, but seemed to draw on its early years as an experimental showcase for younger, emerging choreographers. The tone used to announce the schedule was both defiant and emotive, emphasizing the festival's intentions to be seen as adventurous, unusual and forward-looking. Artistic integrity characterized the discourse adopted by the organizers, but was not always reflected in reviews after the events (Crompton, 2012).

The identity and artistic practices that characterise Dance Umbrella centre on its support for new works and artists. As the first and premier festival of its kind in the UK, its legitimacy in the dance field was and still is largely symbolised by the acknowledgement it receives from other artists rather than audiences. Although lay people are welcome to attend performances and are an important source of income, the primacy of artistic excellence and innovation is at the core of what Dance Umbrella does. Hence the markedly defiant response in staging the 2012 festival. Rather than a retreat into a format that conformed more to tastes in dance that had been influenced by popular culture, the response was to present a more overtly esoteric programme than ever before. This was an act of affirmation and resistance to policies aimed at universalising all forms of culture, including dance on the part of Dance Umbrella.

7.4 The Place

The Place (Contemporary Dance Trust Ltd) today is home to the London Contemporary Dance School, which is the oldest and most comprehensive contemporary dance organization in the UK. It consists of a performance theatre, studios, a school, research facilities and resident artists and companies based in facilities in Central London, near Euston railway station and is also home to the Richard Alston dance company. The venue hosts an extensive array of

programmes and classes for both professional and amateur dancers⁹⁹. It is a self-declared centre for dance, announcing on its web site that:

“What makes The Place distinctive is the unparalleled range of activity we undertake and the unique opportunities created by having so much to offer under one roof.”¹⁰⁰

The origins of The Place lie with the London School of Contemporary Dance (LSCD), which was founded in May 1966 by Robin Howard, a keen proponent of Martha Graham’s work. He was eager to establish facilities in the UK for contemporary dance that would encourage both high standards of teaching and experimentation and innovation in dance, something exemplified by the fact that dance composition was included as part of the school’s curriculum from the very beginning.

Starting with a series of workshops the LSCD quickly established itself at its first temporary home, Berners Place, at the back of Oxford Street and then the Place (its Dukes Road base near Euston station in London) as a progressive, dynamic centre for dance. It was telling that the Trust that was set up to control the School was initially named the Contemporary Ballet Trust, a measure adopted to avoid the negative, plebeian connotations of the word ‘dance’, which would apparently have prevented the granting of Trust status. Only in 1970 was it considered safe enough to change the name to Contemporary Dance Trust. As Richard Mansfield commented in his contribution about the London Contemporary Dance theatre, the Trust had great ambitions for contemporary dance in the UK:

“Its guiding purpose was to supply the needs which seemed to be growing in Britain for this radically different kind of training for dancers” (Mansfield, 1985, p.119).

At first Howard envisaged simply a training school, but gradually the idea took hold that the LSCD should create its own company using the graduates from the school itself. Its influence was quickly felt, even in New

⁹⁹ The Place is home to the Robin Howard Dance Theatre, London Contemporary Dance School and Richard Alston Dance Company, The Place also provides advice and information services and research and development opportunities for dance professionals. Open dance classes are held in the evening and weekends for all levels and pioneering education projects take dance to the local community and beyond including sculpture, film-makers, and fine arts students. This helped to exploit the multi-media approach that was already becoming apparent in the type of work that the LSCD was producing. Information available at: <http://www.theplace.org.uk>.

¹⁰⁰ Quoted from the Place’s web page: <http://www.theplace.org.uk> - Section About the Place.

York, who saw the school as a “...new but still powerful hope of European modern dance” (Mansfield, 1985, p.119).

Despite the enthusiasm with which the founding of the LSCD was greeted the fragility of political support and funding for contemporary dance was evident even during the earliest days of the LSCD, later The Place. In 1969 the Contemporary Ballet Trust (renamed in 1970 as the Contemporary Dance Trust) that managed the school ran out of money when the Arts Council turned down an application for funding. This decision was only reversed, literally at the very last minute, after the Gulbenkian Foundation stepped in with a grant, to support the Trust over a three-year period. Soon after this announcement the Arts Council informed Robin Howard, its founder that funding had been found and the Trust was able to establish itself as a more permanent presence.

The 1970s saw considerable expansion of activities with Richard Alston, a former student of the LSCD, forming his own company, called Strider, in 1972. Strider received significant support from the LSCD, even to the extent of being able to use the Place for rehearsals. In 1976 the LSCD's company hosted the first ever residencies in the UK. The idea was that it would tour the country holding classes and demonstrations at different colleges and universities around the country, to encourage much more interest and collaboration between the dance theatre world and the educational sphere (Mansfield, 1985, p.130). Interestingly many of the early students already had backgrounds in other art forms, including Richard Alston and Siobhan Davies who came from art school to the LSCD as two of the first intake of full-time dance students in 1967. Other students introduced concepts linking dance to sculpture and film, thus introducing a multi-dimensional, multi-disciplinary aspect to the work and teaching of the school, which continues to this day.

Today, The Place is funded by several bodies including ACE, the Higher Education Funding Council (through the Conservatoire for Dance and Drama), the Department for Education and the Borough of Camden as well as a range of individuals, charitable trusts and foundations (The Place, 2010). The web site also has an entire section devoted to supporting The Place. Under the heading *Supporting us* are listed various initiatives that a donor can contribute to. Funding needs for current students and the activities that The Place offers today are described under the heading of *Funding Excellence*. This includes

learning and development, outreach and theatre and dance company support.

The *Pioneering Fund* is more future-oriented and aims to:

“...support those ideas which push contemporary dance into previously unexplored territory. We very much need the support of individuals who share our vision for creating new work and who recognise our vital role in nurturing new talent and supporting pioneering activity. The Pioneering Fund will provide The Place with the financial resources necessary to continue to take risks and invest in ground-breaking initiatives, as and when new opportunities arise” (The Place web site, 2011).¹⁰¹

Supporters are acknowledged on the web site and updates on what donations are spent on are given in the newsletter ‘Inside The Place’ as well as on the web site. Several corporates also support The Place, including Bloomberg, which has been sponsoring The Place Prize, the UK’s leading contemporary dance competition since its inception in 2004. It is held every two years and over the last 6 years more than £750,000 has been invested in the commissioning and staging of new works by young, emerging professional choreographers. Such is the importance of The Place Prize that it has its own web site where a comprehensive description of past and present competitions, eligibility requirements and entry details are published.

7.4.1 Legitimacy: displacing the hegemony of the performative

The change in status of The Place in 1973 to that of an establishment of Further Education meant that students were more likely to receive grants from local authorities for training. Since then The Place has developed its portfolio of courses and today offers professional dance training to undergraduates and post graduates who wish to become professional dance artists and currently has circa 180 students enrolled in the LCDS. At undergraduate level the school offers a BA course accredited by the University of Kent, which provides technical training in various techniques as well as exposure to dance creation and choreography. Certificates in Higher Education are also available and at the

¹⁰¹ <http://www.theplace.org.uk/962/support-the-place/pioneering-fund.html>. [Accessed 16 February 2011].

post-graduate level students can take MAs, PhDs, Diplomas as well as attend the Advanced Dance Studies programme. The post-graduate programme focuses primarily on professional dance training, but does cater for mature students who have been dancers and are now looking for a career change in the form of a one-year Postgraduate Diploma or MA course that equips them to teach at conservatoire level.

In parallel to professional dance training The Place has also developed a wide range of specialist courses for gifted young dancers (Centre for Advanced Training (CAT) programme established in 2004), tailored courses for vulnerable people, GCSE courses and a specialised interactive, embodied learning programme using multi-sensory technology as part of a learning experience. Not only is the LearnPhysical Programme intended to enhance the learning experience amongst primary school children, but the meronymous linking of 'thinking' and 'dancer' to describe how dance can overcome the 'Cartesian mind-body split' attempts to dispel conceptions of dance as something purely recreational and position movement and dance as an essential embodied aspect of reasoning and self-awareness (Thomson, 2011, pp. 8-9).

Despite the multi-faceted role serving both artistic and socially beneficial goals, The Place nevertheless saw a substantial cut in its funding in 2011. Although not as drastic as the 43% cut for Dance Umbrella, the 20% cut in real terms elicited an initial response on 30th March 2011 that clearly demonstrated a frustration with the ACE in its treatment of dance in relation to other art forms. The Place's director of communications Tim Wood said this:

"As for The Place, we've been told that our work is good and important and should carry on, but we'll have to do it for less money.

We don't yet know how we'll manage that.

"There's a frustration that dance never got the big uplift that other art forms (regional theatre, visual arts) had during the boom years of arts funding. That's a point that Dance UK always make. They have, of course, been cut."¹⁰²

In an official statement made a few days later by The Place's Chief Executive, the rhetoric tempered diplomatic gratitude for the acknowledgement

¹⁰² Source: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/culture/culture-cuts-blog/2011/mar/30/arts-council-funding-decision-day-cuts>). [Accessed 1 April 2013].

of The Place's work and role with a concern about the 'threat' to the arts caused by the cuts:

"Cutting funding for The Place, like all cuts to the arts, threatens the work of artists and the public's opportunities to engage with it. We are nonetheless grateful for Arts Council England's ongoing support, and will work with them and our partners in dance – funded and unfunded – to face these threats so that dance in the UK can continue to flourish and thrive" (Tharp, 2011).

The question for The Place as a heterogeneous, multi-functional organization was where and how to accommodate the funding cuts. As with Dance Umbrella the definition of success appeared to have been altered by the ACE's distribution of funding. The dance field-generated intrinsic criteria of professional excellence appeared under threat from an increased demand to see proof of The Place's economic competence in managing with less funding.

Furthermore, The Place's physical location in London also appeared to disadvantage it with regard to the funding announcements. The increased regional focus on funding for dance and away from London may, as Judith Mackrell mooted at the time of the announcements in 2011, have been an attempt to restore historical imbalances. Nevertheless it appeared to be rather a blunt attempt to break the hegemony of the London dance scene and relativize the position of organizations like The Place in the hierarchy of the UK dance field.

7.4.2 Identity: The Sum of Many Different Parts?

In its own words The Place unequivocally lays claim to a central role in the UK contemporary dance sector:

"...the UK's premier centre for contemporary dance" and is depicted as "...a vibrant hub of dance activity, a centre of creative and technical excellence and a magnet for aspiring dancers, talented professionals and cutting-edge choreographers from all over the world".¹⁰³

¹⁰³ <http://www.theplace.org.uk/about>. [Accessed 8 March 2011].

In an interview¹⁰⁴ with Theresa Beattie, the then Director of Artist Development at The Place in 2002 showed, it saw its role as unique and comprehensive in the dance sector:

“The Place’s vision was originally to “be service to & through dance.”¹⁰⁵ For more than 30 years, the Place has successfully performed its role as “a facilitator and presenter of dance, providing a resource of knowledge and experience as well as a venue”.¹⁰⁶

Eight years later, in 2010, there was a hint at a change in tone that emphasised an even more dynamic, future-oriented approach to attracting audiences and supporting artists. In reflecting on its 40th anniversary, the Chief Executive, Kenneth Olumuyiwa Tharp observed that:

“After a 40-year history of ground-breaking work, The Place’s inheritance is a clear sense of duty to the artists, audiences and participants of tomorrow. The Place works as a creative engine, driving the development of dance by championing the most exciting ideas and nurturing the most promising artists, who in turn transform and enrich lives through their art. [...]. We have a very important role to play, creating a future that:

- *ensures that dance training at the highest level is accessible for everyone, regardless of background, in order to achieve their potential*
- *supports sustainable careers for dance artists, creating opportunities and encouraging entrepreneurship*
- *increases the reach of dance, creating and presenting new work, and finding new roles for dance in schools, in our communities and online*
- *sees our continuing role as leaders, working in partnership with others nationally and internationally to develop dance*
- *brings dance closer to the heart of everyone’s lives.*

Through these things, The Place will continue to shape where dance is going next” (Tharp, 2010, p.3).

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Theresa Beattie, 25 November 2002. For example, DanceCity, an NDA in Newcastle is both a building and arts organization with three dance studios, an administrative office, and comprehensive programmes, reaching out to lead and support dance initiatives in the north eastern region. With its bid for the £6million new building, DanceCity is aspiring to build a performance venue of 250 seats as well as four new studios, a pilates studio, an education centre with classrooms and a library, Offices for DanceCity staff and independent dance companies and a cafe / bar. More information is available at <http://www.dancecity.co.uk/pages/masterframeset.html>.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Theresa Beattie. The interview took place at her office on 11:00-12:15 AM, 25 November 2002.

¹⁰⁶ Quoted from <http://www.theplace.org.uk>.

This rhetoric, both ethical and emotive in its sentiments, attempted to balance the three main government logics of excellence, access and healthy living. However, the subliminal reference to ‘excellence’ suggested that other policy objectives like ‘accessibility’ were of a higher priority, because they brought dance closer to the public than objectives emphasising artistic-aesthetic excellence.

Undoubtedly, The Place is much more than a venue for dance performance and teaching. Multiple identities and practices are reflected by the different groups that constitute The Place. Some are historically contingent, based on The Place’s early years and struggles to become established. Its physical embodiment and name imbue it with a sense of permanence and focus and the variety of activities pursued under one roof, incorporating both artistic innovation and excellence with “...pioneering learning, teaching, outreach, recreation and professional development projects” (The Place web site, 2011) make it a compelling combination of structure and (dance) practice.

7.4.3 Creative Entrepreneurialism – Conflating Artistic and Commercial creativity?

In the early 2000’s The Place, in common with other creative organizations adopted a more entrepreneurial discourse in defining its future:

“Now, we are transforming ourselves into something much more dynamic. The Place is fast becoming a hub, an exemplar, a creative entrepreneur: The Place to discover dance. This commitment to discovery puts our focus firmly on the future; producing the next generation of choreographers and dancers drawn from all over Britain - and beyond. Diverse, disciplined and challenging – yet always striving for accessibility and inclusion: The Place continues to serve artists and audiences alike.”¹⁰⁷

Both the Richard Alston Dance Company and the Robin Howard Theatre reflected core aspects of The Place’s artistic entrepreneurialism. For the former The Place provided a home for training and performance of Alston’s

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Theresa Beattie. The interview took place at her office on 11:00-12:15 AM, 25 November 2002.

works. Through on-line resources such as thealstonstudio.com the company's work was made available as a teaching and performance resource. The Place provided a venue for festivals and competitions, such as Resolution! and The Place Prize, intended for emerging choreographers and performers as well as Choreodrome, a biennial research and development project¹⁰⁸.

As a dance institution The Place also began to play an important organizational role in promoting talent through the associations or residences that dance professionals could enter into with it. For young artists just embarking on their careers a sense of belonging was important as well as the need for practical assistance in the form of studio space, on-line resources (Juice) and administrative facilities.

Not only did The Place provide administrative help and support, but the importance and standing of The Place was seen as key for artists to progress their careers and endow them with credibility:

“It is unanimously agreed that the reputation and credibility of the organization is synonymous with the opportunities they have all been endowed” (Angika [cited in Samer, 2006, p.8]).

From The Place's perspective the ability to give artists institutional backing and legitimate their activities in the form of administrative support such as office facilities and rehearsal or studio space was important for the credibility of those artists. As John Ashford¹⁰⁹, the Theatre Director at the time, stated:

“The authority of an institution to convince others they were serious, [and] according to the available funding, Associate Artists have always been offered a place to sit, money and studio space” (Ashford, 2006, p. 8).

However, as Ashford went on to say there could be disadvantages associated with artists attaching themselves too closely to a particular venue:

“Some institutions' sense of ownership of the artists can work against Associate Artists as they are denied opportunities elsewhere. Whereas

¹⁰⁸ Source: <http://www.theplace.org.uk/922/opportunities/artist-development-at-the-place.html>. [Accessed 9 April 2013].

¹⁰⁹ John Ashford left The Place in June 2009 to become Director of the European dance network Aerowaves.

the system used to support the individual and provide assistance with seeking funding and information on potential venues, we now have a situation where venues are competing for artists” (Ashford in Juice, June 2006, p.9).

The competitive aspect amongst venues presaged the observations made by some journalists in the wake of the 2011 announcement of the severe funding cuts for a number of London-based dance organizations like The Place and Dance Umbrella (Mackrell, 2011¹¹⁰; Crompton 2011¹¹¹).

There was also a sense that too much institutional influence could be detrimental to artistic practice in that:

“Artists are hence being institutionalised by the organizations they have been chosen to serve. The oversubscription of claiming artists has created a phenomenon which ultimately works against the best interest of the artistic and the dance community as venues battle it out for ‘the next big thing’ ” (Samer, 2006, p.9).

The use of the expression ‘institutionalised’ was notable in that it suggested some degree of conformity of practice that the individual artist had to accept in order to receive the support of organizations like The Place. The sole association with a physical organization or venue could therefore be seen as an impediment to stimulating creative and innovative work by artists and discouraging independence.

The response suggested by Ashford implied instead a role for The Place as a resource for artists to encourage both artistic and professional independence:

“To have a loose association with a large group of artists. To create artists who are more entrepreneurial and independent. Artists are more likely to make their best work with encouragement and a sense of security which we can offer” (Ashford, 2006, p.9).

¹¹⁰ Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/culture/culture-cuts-blog/2011/mar/30/arts-council-funding-decision-day-cuts>.

¹¹¹ Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/theatre/dance/8618016/>.

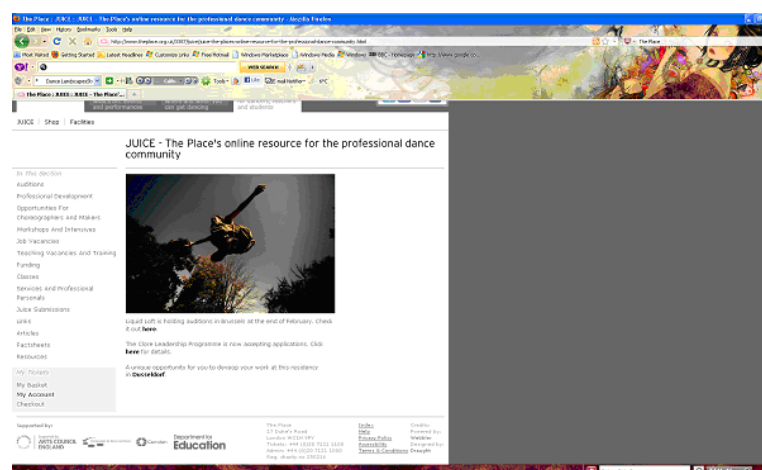


Figure 7.1: Screenshot of The Place's online resource for professional dancers: Juice

Since the early 2000s The Place has evolved a discourse that reflected a gradual shift towards an understanding of creativity as synonymous with resourcefulness in the wake of political and financial pressures on the performing arts. Although The Place continues to host events that aim to showcase and develop the artist, it has also had to develop staff capabilities that enable artists to develop the skills needed to manage their careers. Directorships exist for the LCDS, Theatre and Artist Development, Learning and Access, Communications, Recreational and Prevocational Dance as well as for support functions including administration and finance and development.

The ability to show financial prudence is evidently one of the factors that influences sponsors' and funding bodies' views about the organization and decisions about future support. Not surprisingly The Place has several staff employed in administrative functions including finance to support the management of the organization. Of 95 full-time employee equivalents (FTE) in 2010, 17 were in administrative functions. This compares with 47 FTEs who were involved in educational activities (an increase of 6 over 2009) and 17 staff responsible for the theatre. Staff costs comprised over half of the annual expenditure of The Place and had to be justifiable. Not surprisingly given the transparency demanded of publicly funded organizations performance measurement is another element of managerial work that has grown in importance.

Underlining this commitment to professional dance practice and excellence were initiatives such as the Work Place programme. In April 2011 The Place formally launched the Work Place initiative; investing over

£500,000 over the next three years to support 12 professional choreographers at different stages in their careers. The programme:

“...maximise[s] the combined potential of the organization. Artists will be provided a platform for the creation and performance of new works, and concurrently offered educational and entrepreneurial training, nurturing their all-round professional development.

“Work Place has been created in response to direct feedback from independent artists, and in line with the Arts Council's 2009 study *Dance Mapping: a window on dance*. The scheme addresses chronic issues affecting the industry, including the lack of teaching, entrepreneurial and management skills.”¹¹²

For The Place, an organizational representative of the elite face of contemporary dance, the Work Place initiative acknowledged the skills gap that existed amongst artists when embarking on a career in dance. However, the ambiguous use of terms like ‘entrepreneurial’ represented a subtle challenge to the existing hierarchies in the dance field. For example Burns and Harrison’s ‘Dance Mapping’ report for the ACE (2009), discursively presented non-dance skills like marketing and management as being equally important as dance ability. By modifying the meaning of ‘entrepreneurialism’ an argument had thus been generated that called for greater recognition of other roles in finding alternative, viable sources of funding for the arts in the UK:

“Contemporary dance relies on public subsidy and looks for entrepreneurs who can expand the financial resources so that dance can be reached by many across the UK” (Burns & Harrison, 2009, p.118).

The Work Place initiative was therefore a direct and instrumental response to this and to cultural policy objectives linked to encouraging more commercial practices and the overarching Creative Industries’ debate (HC 587-I, 2004; DCMS, 2001).

In addition to targeted initiatives such as Work Place, The Place’s Juice web site provides advice and guidance to dance students and budding professionals as they prepare to embark upon their careers. Whilst some documents provide straightforward, practical information on, e.g. financial

¹¹² Source: The Place web site. [Accessed 10 February 2011].

support, others make more overt attempts at linking creative and commercial skills, for example, the document *DIY marketing & publicity guide for dancers and choreographers 2006 – a creative approach to identity*. Its very title creates a direct link between the need for dancers and choreographers to publicise themselves and their work (essential for commercial purposes) and the identity and practice of the artist. As its author, Allan Parker, stated in the chapter headed **your company**:

“Making pictures and writing about what you do is an extension of your central artistic practice – making dance. The point at which you are obliged to produce publicity material to promote your ideas is also the point at which you have to commit to the identity of the work and sometimes of the company. It also gives an opportunity to reflect on the work in general and what direction it is taking” (Parker, 2006, p.2).

Creativity and Learning are also combined with technology in an innovative way through The Place’s work on the LearnPhysical Programme. It was conceived as a way of using interactive technology to facilitate and enhance the learning process in primary schools by using interactive whiteboards and handheld technologies to stimulate all the senses in a unique form of embodied learning.¹¹³. In fact, the programme claimed to have an even broader objective in encouraging schools to adopt creative movement and dance as an integral part of the teaching methods used in primary schools.

7.4.4 The Place: Summary and Discussion

The picture that emerged of The Place was one of a multi-faceted organization that, whilst subscribing to the themes promulgated by government policy on dance, projected an unambiguous view of its purpose and identity. Important attributes that underpinned this clarity of purpose and organizational identity were the range of academic qualifications and training and development opportunities available to young and emerging professional performers and choreographers. Additionally the sponsorship of competitions based on artistic innovation such as The Place Prize and the Resolution!

¹¹³ Source: www.Danceuk.org : Dance UK News Issue 80, Spring 2011.

festival further exemplified the importance of contemporary dance as an art form.

The sense of place, in terms of a physical presence, was also apparent and served as a discursive resource on which The Place was able to draw to reinforce its notions of identity and those of its constituent groups (Brown & Humphreys, 2006).

The emphasis for The Place thus appears to be on promoting and supporting the work of small teams and individuals who have yet to establish themselves professionally, but have demonstrated the necessary creative potential and quality of work to warrant wider exposure to audiences in London. In giving young talent a necessary platform for its work, The Place also enables future stars of the contemporary dance scene to acquire and practise the skills necessary to attract larger, more economically viable audiences before embarking on the traditional means of self-promotion like touring, which are risky in terms of venue and audience profiles.

In its response to the 2011 ACE cuts The Place remained guarded on the nature of the impact that they would have. In fact, the programme of events and competitions appeared superficially unaffected at least in the short term. There was a certain neutrality in the responses and little overt change in discourse, in contrast to that demonstrated by Dance Umbrella in the wake of the cuts. In adopting this stance The Place may have been trying to maintain a balance between the various discursive rationales at its disposal. The unusual multi-faceted organizational structure of The Place made this a possibility, allowing it to shift emphasis in response to variations in the strength of the various policy discourses.

7.5 Tanzplan Deutschland: Discourses of Compliance, Appropriation and Resistance in Practice

In Chapter Six (6) we showed how four main discourses comprising advocacy, dance education and training, sustainability and dance scholarship were constructed on behalf of Tanzplan Deutschland, a five-year programme (2005-2010) of activities devoted to the German dance sector. In this chapter we demonstrate how these discourses underwent chronological changes and

that despite significant discursive effort being applied to ensure their acceptance – specifically concerning advocacy and sustainability – amongst the German dance sector in Berlin, the result was one of differing levels of adoption and compliance.

We now illustrate how the Tanzplan Deutschland initiative, a five-year programme of activities devoted to the dance sector, resulted in divergent discursive strategies between the institutional level of policy formulation and the organizational and actor levels. Specific responses to the Tanzplan initiative were examined using critical discursive analytical (CDA) methods to analyse texts (in the form of articles, news reports, web site publications and interviews) associated with Tanzplan. The aim was to explore how consensus and resistance to the aims of the initiative were achieved and by whom, amongst the actors and organizations making up the Berlin independent, contemporary dance scene. In doing so, we identified the privileged voices in the debates and contrasted the nature of the institutional discourses with individual ones using Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of the nature of social practice in creating and maintaining positions of relative power. We show that these variations were used to highlight some discourses whilst marginalising others.

The consensus-building nature of the Tanzplan initiative in Germany saw its leaders consciously liaise with representatives of several regional dance 'scenes', bringing together dancers, choreographers, artistic directors, dance scholars and politicians to understand the priorities of the sector. The views of these actors and their responses to Tanzplan were documented in various texts including newspaper articles, dance sector journals, dance sector web sites, blogs and cultural-political forums, some of which were sponsored by Tanzplan. In order to gain context-specific insight into the experiences and perceptions of Tanzplan amongst practitioners we selected, as the main focus for the analysis Berlin two representative voices of the contemporary dance scene in Berlin, namely the Hochschulübergreifendes Zentrum Tanz (HZT), chosen as part of the overall Tanzplan initiative as a pilot project (Tanzplan-vor-Ort), and Berlin's independent freelance contemporary dance sector. The advantage of this choice was that it gave us insight into the views of both institutional and non-institutional practitioners with respect to the Tanzplan initiatives. Berlin was chosen as it is a centre for the independent contemporary

dance scene in Europe with several festivals staged each year and a diverse spectrum of European and international choreographers and dancers contributing to a dynamic, inventive source of developments in artistic practice, making it a suitable site for the analysis.

The primary sources of content for the analysis were the on-line journals of TanzRaumBerlin covering the period Jan 2008 to Mar 2013¹¹⁴. This was advantageous in terms of being synchronous with the Tanzplan initiative itself between 2008 and 2010, providing a chronology of the initiative itself. It also provided the means to track the progress of one of Tanzplan's projects, the HZT up to and beyond the formal end of Tanzplan in December 2010. The scope of responses to Tanzplan was restricted to the activities that took place in Berlin, specifically the Tanzbüro Berlin initiative and the creation of the HZT.

In the summary we examine how the ambiguity of cultural policy discourse gives rise to variations in practice amongst protagonists that can be judged as an attempt to establish or reinforce identity, make claims to legitimacy well as broaden the definition of artistic practice in terms of non-aesthetic innovation.

7.5.1 Advocacy

The Tanzplan programme was initiated as a model that would make joint responsibility between the federal government and states and the local authorities easier to manage and share using the Tanzplan-vor-Ort construct. For some genres, like the independent contemporary dance scene, the model was seen to be advantageous as a way of gaining the attention of funders and administrators who would usually be more focused on the traditional sectors of theatre and classical dance:

“Kein Zufall ist es, dass dies gerade dem zeitgenössischen Tanz nützt: In Institutionen oft das schwächste Glied der Kette, in Forschung und Hochschule gerade erst angedockt, bestehend aus einer großen freien, zersplitterten Szene, sind die Akteure schon aus Notwendigkeit auf Flexibilität trainiert” (Müller, 2006, p.1).

Translation:

¹¹⁴ Electronic copies available at www.tanzraumberlin.de.

“It is not by chance that this benefits contemporary dance. In institutions often the weakest link in the chain; only just integrated into research and higher education; made up of a large, independent and fragmented scene, participants are already trained to be flexible out of sheer necessity.”

Key words used by Tanzplan’s orchestrators or the press (Nehring, 2006; Schlagenwerth, 2006; Nehring, 2011) to describe the objectives of the various parts of the programme such as ‘Vernetzung’ (networking), ‘Austausch’, (exchange), ‘Vermittlung’ (mediation), ‘Nachhaltigkeit’ (sustainability) and ‘Bildung’ (education) were frequently derived from Tanzplan texts and reiterated in press interviews and articles about the programme throughout the five years of its existence. As the outcomes of the programme became more visible towards the end of Tanzplan some were reinforced to support further, supplementary aims for the continuing development of structures for contemporary dance as the official programme ended. These included the need for a national dance office and a debate over the increasing visibility and importance of curators as key figures in cultural management.

By mid-2011 the potential role of a national dance centre had become clearer in terms of bundling the individual Tanzplan initiatives and concerns of regional and local initiatives and creating a single, unified medium through which experience, know-how and information could be exchanged. Alongside the cultural-political representation that was seen as a focus for the national centre, the channelling of funds from sponsors domestically and abroad was also stated as a major responsibility.

However, amongst dance practitioners the question of advocacy resided at a much more local level than the one proposed by the Tanzplan initiative. Taking the Berlin cultural scene as a site-specific example the representation of dance was and is via the Tanzbüro Berlin (TBB) and the umbrella organization for contemporary dance ztb¹¹⁵. These organizations work in partnership with the Dachverband Tanz Deutschland to support dance in Berlin.

¹¹⁵ ztb = Zeitgenössischer Tanz Berlin. Available at <http://www.ztberlin.de/index.php/home-18.html>. [Accessed 8 March 2013].

Ztb was founded in 2000 and represents the interests of choreographers, dancers, companies and organizations involved in contemporary dance in Berlin. It conducts lobby work to improve the production and performance infrastructure available in Berlin. Tanzbüro Berlin was founded in 2005 as a central institution for the Berlin dance scene and its Web presence, www.TanzRaumBerlin.de, describes itself as an information and advisory centre for Berlin ‘dance creators’ and interested parties from other cities and federal states.

On its web site the TBB¹¹⁶ declares that:

“Unser Engagement liegt in der Vernetzung von Ideen und Ressourcen und wir setzen uns ein für eine Verbesserung der Produktionsbedingungen der Berliner Tanzszene.”

Translation: “Our commitment is to the integration of ideas and resources and we advocate an improvement in the production conditions of the Berlin dance scene.”

The two interest groups ztb and Tanzbüro perform similar roles, differentiated only by the variation in genre. The concept of an overarching representative body for dance throughout Germany was not advanced in any of the ‘local’ texts generated on behalf of the Berlin dance scene. Even in a contribution made after Tanzplan ended, the possibility that the outcome from the five-year programme could and should be a national representative body was not voiced. Instead the debate was more about the format Tanzplan had adopted nationwide to exert greater influence over a wide network of organizations and agents in order to stimulate collaboration and leverage funding sources as effectively as possible:

“Von fern betrachtet erscheint Tanzplan als vielfach verzweigtes Netzwerk: Es ist ihm in den unterschiedlichen Städten nicht zuletzt durch die geteilte Finanzierung von Stadt, Land und Bund gelungen, Protagonisten aus Politik, Kultur und Forschung an einen Tisch zu bringen. Denn im Gegensatz zu anderen Ländern findet in Deutschland die Kommunikation gerade zwischen Kunst und Politik, Künstlern und Politikern viel zu selten statt: Man kommuniziert allein

¹¹⁶ Source: http://www.tanzraumberlin.de/index.php?article_id=214&clang=0. [Accessed 12 March 2013].

über die Einbahnstraße der Antragsstellung, selten kennen die Politiker ihre Szene in Gänze, und selten suchen beide Seiten den Austausch, um Bedürfnisse auf der einen und Möglichkeiten auf der anderen Seite zu eruieren” (Boldt, 2011a, p.2).

Translation: “When viewed from a distance Tanzplan appears like a multi-branched network. It has succeeded in different towns and cities, not least because of the split financing of municipality, state and federation, in bringing protagonists from politics, culture and research to the table. For, in contrast to other countries communication between the arts and politics, artists and politicians occurs much too infrequently. Communication occurs in the form of the ‘one-way-street’ of the application process; politicians rarely know their scene in its entirety, and rarely do both sides attempt an exchange, in order to investigate needs on the one hand and possibilities on the other.”

However, despite Tanzplan being an initiative that supported all dance genres, the distinctions that existed between institutionalised dance and the independent scene before Tanzplan were still apparent even after the programme ended.

“...die freischaffenden Künstler der Szene werden von dem Boom nur bedingt mitgerissen. Zwar gelten sie als Aushängeschild einer Kulturhauptstadt, die mittlerweile im In-und Ausland auch als „Tanzstadt“ gehandelt wird. Doch knapsen sie aufgrund einer Kulturpolitik, die festen Institutionen noch immer unverhältnismäßig bevorzugt, am Existenzminimum. So geht’s nicht weiter, befanden auch die Freischaffenden anderer Kultursparten – und taten sich unverzüglich in einer „Koalition der Freien Szene“ zusammen” (Wellershaus, 2012a, p.1).

Translation: “...the freelance artists from the scene are only benefiting in part from the boom. Although they are ‘poster children’ for a cultural capital that is regarded internationally as well as domestically as ‘dance city’, they are obliged to survive on the breadline, because of cultural policies that still give the established institutions preferential treatment. The freelancers from other art forms decided that this could not continue and promptly formed a ‘coalition of the freelance scene’.”

Just one year after Tanzplan finished TanzRaumBerlin published an article by Arnd Wesemann (2012, pp. 2-3) highlighting the inconsistencies in funding between the established cultural sector and the independent freelance (including dance) sector in Berlin. In calling out a coalition of the freelance scene, Berlin's independent performing arts protagonists¹¹⁷ highlighted the inequalities between establishment culture and its categorisation of the arts to facilitate cultural management and funding distribution and the more trans-disciplinary, autonomous, freelance sector.

The fragmented nature of much of the arts scene in Berlin, including dance, coupled with an approach to cultural politics that reflected the economics of artistic endeavour, i.e. the creative economy, triggered a reaction amongst the freelance scene to challenge an uncomfortable trend towards economic success in the arts as a main measure of value.

Today, even within the freelance coalition different views exist on the direction that the arts should take in Berlin. The response that emerged was a reluctance by some freelancers to accept a wholly social economic approach to the arts whereby quotas and performance measures and prestige projects would govern investment decisions. Conversely some freelancers saw a fully commercial, but independent approach to the arts as the only way to avoid constant pressure to provide measurable results.

Advocacy in this context was therefore a complex and multi-faceted concept when applied to a specific example such as the Berlin arts sector, where the freelance sector is a major contributor to the cultural image and success of the city. In fact the 'Koalition der Freien Szene' has, in publishing its 10-point manifesto¹¹⁸, which include ideas for alternative funding models, ring-fencing of funding, minimum wages and further decentralisation of the Berlin arts into the city's boroughs, assumed the role of advocate for all the arts including dance.

¹¹⁷ The coalition comprises all of Berlin's independent artists, ensembles, organizations and institutions working in the fields of architecture, visual arts, dance, theatre, new media, all music genres, music theatre, young people's theatre, literature as well as all inter-disciplinary and trans-disciplinary forms of work. Source: http://koalitionfszb.bplaced.net/wordpress/?page_id=202. [Accessed 8 March 2013].

¹¹⁸ Source: http://koalitionfszb.bplaced.net/wordpress/?page_id=115. [Accessed 8 March 2013].

The freelancers' discourse was suggestive of dynamism, initiative and action, which in spite of the assumption of similar vocabulary used in the Tanzplan texts, was not obviously matched by the advocacy discourse generated by Tanzplan and its protagonists. There was also a disparity in the perceived need for a national representative body and for a regional one as illustrated by the manifestos produced in favour of a national dance office and the Free Coalition manifesto.

Notably, the Berlin coalition movement was borne out of an immediate necessity amongst artists attempting to earn a living from the arts in Berlin. The coalition format is naturally different from the likely form that a national office would take, i.e. where the latter comprises mainly cultural managers and technocrats, curators and scholars. However, both share similar objectives in terms of representing the interests of the sector vis à vis the cultural and political administrations of the day.

At the present time the question of who and what is a legitimate form of representation for dance in Berlin remains unanswered, but the implication is clear that the practitioner-based consensus achieved by the coalition is the more effective one for all the performing arts in Berlin at present.

7.5.2 Dance Education & Training

The benefits of the arts in helping children and young people was well documented in cultural-political publications that appeared throughout the five years of Tanzplan (Kultur-Kompetenz-Bildung, 2008, pp.3-12). The authors of these articles were mainly politicians, journalists, sociologists and teachers. The voice of the practising artist was not evident in these publications, only emerging later in texts published for and on behalf of the professional contemporary dance scene, such as in TanzRaumBerlin.

For example the editorial introduction to the July-August 2008 edition of tanzraumberlin adopted a provocative tone to raise questions about the ethical arguments that obliged artists to accept a definition of cultural education that relativised the role of the choreographer as a creative being and created ambiguity around the term 'performer':

“Sozialarbeiter, Künstler oder beides – wer oder was sind wir? Das fragt sich eine Reihe Choreografen in Berlin, seitdem die Welle des

Community Dances und der sozialen Inklusion langsam von der britischen Insel gen Festland geschwappt ist. Eine ist sofort auf der Welle mit geritten und hat mit TanzZeit ein beispielhaftes Projekt ins Leben gerufen. Aber nicht alle hier glauben wie Livia Patrizi an die logische Verknüpfung von Kunst und sozialem Engagement” (Wellershaus, 2008, p.1).

Translation: “Social workers, artists or both – who or what are we? That is what a number of choreographers are asking themselves ever since the Community Dance and social inclusion waves slowly washed over the mainland from the British Isles. One person immediately rode the wave and created an exemplary project in the form of ‘TanzZeit’.¹¹⁹ But, unlike Livia Patrizi, not everyone here believes in the logical connection between art and social engagement.”

In the same issue of *tanzraumberlin* (2008, p.2) counter arguments using the experiences of three choreographers who worked on community dance projects were described (Kathinka Walter, Jess Curtis and Florian Bilbao). Specific reference was made to the Community Dance sector in the UK, which is more established than the German one. The first contributor, Walter (2008, p.2), articulated rationally the resistance amongst artists to community dance as being centred on the perceived inferiority of the quality and seriousness of the artistic undertaking when it involved amateurs. If both these objections could be dealt with it was argued, then the recognition of ‘dance as social project’ could transition into an artistic project and be accepted by professional artists and lay people alike.

The second author, Curtis (2008, p.2), described a more personal, emotive experience with disabled dancers. Diversity of perspective, an enriched quality of life and the opportunity to learn as a professional artist were claimed as benefits from work with community dance artists whilst the notion that community dance equated to amateurism was categorically rejected.

For the third contributor, Bilbao (2008, p.2), the positive creative experience of working with pupils in schools to develop their self-confidence and abilities had to be balanced with the need to avoid the trap of this type of

¹¹⁹ Translates literally as dance time. Author’s note.

work becoming 'routine' and unoriginal. The author combined emotive phrases such as 'children are the future of art' with references to his own professional development as a cultural educator, culminating in the claim that he believed this to be a way in which he was able to discover the true essence of dance.

This was in contrast to a dance scholar's perspective where the fundamental question underlying the role of artists in cultural education concerned the independence of dance and artistic practice when legitimacy is only then bestowed by society when artists are first and foremost educators:

"Wo bleibt dann aber die Autonomie des Tanzes? Müssen Künstler notwendig auch Pädagogen sein, um einen Geltungsanspruch in unserer Gesellschaft zu erlangen?" (Foellmer, 2009, p.3).

Translation:

"What happens then to the autonomy of dance? Are artists required to be teachers as well, just to have some claim on recognition in our society?"

In reflecting familiar arguments about the instrumental use of the arts to further social objectives, the author voiced concern over the situation in the UK, where in order to get funding for a project dance productions needed to deliver some sort of socially useful as well as cultural results.

A year later another dance scholar, Maren Witte (2010a, p.2), illustrated the divide that existed between the esoteric nature of much of the thinking behind cultural education for children and the practicalities of enacting it in dance teaching. She argued that for many adults dance was an idealised manifestation of an innocent, simple and harmonious life and that through dance a child discovered and understood her- or himself as a social being.

How this projection actually helped dance practice and teaching to develop and what the implications for teaching children might be constituted the main concern for the author. Far from being an extrapolation of the theories of cultural and educational scholars, the reality of dance teaching is that, regardless of the genre, dance training is still regarded as a privilege by parents from educationally weak backgrounds.

Although less overtly observed than the debate about young people and dance, dance pedagogy for adults is highly pertinent to the debate. For example, in Witte's (2010b) interview with Maya Lipsker the mental and

physical benefits of the so-called Gaga technique¹²⁰, a movement language that can be used by dancers and non-dancers alike, appeared remarkably similar to those cited for young people's participation in dance:

“Gaga is a new way of gaining knowledge and self-awareness through your body. Gaga is a new way for learning and strengthening your body, adding flexibility, stamina and agility while lightening the senses and imagination. Gaga raises awareness of physical weaknesses, awakens numb areas, exposes physical fixations and offers ways for their elimination. Gaga elevates instinctive motion, links conscious and subconscious movement. Gaga is an experience of freedom and pleasure. In a simple way, a pleasant place, comfortable close, accompanied by music, every person with himself and others” (Naharin, 2008).

Dance pedagogy requires specialists who are not only trained in dance, but also in the teaching of dance. However, what is unclear from the various texts is whether it is the role of teacher or of pupil that is determinant in influencing notions of identity, legitimacy and artistic practice or whether the distinction arises more specifically from the dance genre itself. What does emerge though is a view that self-interest and self-realisation are important factors in engaging in certain dance forms, as shown by the community dance examples.

7.5.3 Sustainability

Sustainability was a term used consistently by the authors of Tanzplan to justify its objectives and role. Linked to this term were notions of long-term financial and organizational stability and the measurability of progress or success.

Four years into the Tanzplan programme the dance academic Susanne Foellmer reviewed its status asking, “how visible is dance” and how the

¹²⁰ Gaga was developed by the [Batsheva Dance Company](http://www.batsheva.com/)'s artistic director, Ohad Naharin, and it evolved not only through his work with professional dancers but through experimentation with non-dancers; indeed, when a non-dancing employee of Batsheva expressed a desire to dance in the late 1990s, Naharin began biweekly classes for her and several other employees. The Batsheva company now trains daily in Gaga, and since 2001, members of the general public have been able to practice Gaga in open classes. Source: <http://www.danceinisrael.com/tag/gaga-training/>; [Accessed 1 March 2013].

sustainability of the Tanzplan programme could be proved. In her assessment Foellmer (2009, p.2) responded to a claim made by the cultural and political sponsors of Tanzplan Germany that it was having a sustainable effect on dance in Germany by asking how this could be quantified:

“Doch wie lässt sich diese Nachhaltigkeit im Detail belegen? Und welche Auswirkungen haben die Aktivitäten des Tanzplans?” und

“Welche Kriterien wird letztlich die Politik anwenden, wenn es gilt, nach dem Ende des Tanzplans 2010 die Initiativen in den verschiedenen Städten weiterzuführen?”

Translation: “But what will this ‘sustainability’ look like in detail? And what consequences will Tanzplan’s activities have?” and

“What criteria will politicians apply at the end of the day when it becomes necessary to continue the initiatives in the various towns and cities after Tanzplan finishes in 2010?”

Although objectives such as access to dance for disadvantaged youth could be easily quantified and described, the project leader of Tanzplan admitted that the very nature of the initiative and the diversity of the projects made it difficult to generalise measures of success. An additional significant complicating factor was the lack of a common approach or even participants from amongst different dance genres:

“Unterscheiden sich die Vorgehensweisen und Interessen der Fraktionen - hier das Ballett, da die zeitgenössische Richtung, dort die verschiedenen Ansätze innerhalb der Pädagogik – noch immer derart eklatant? Die Ballettwelt jedenfalls hat häufig gefehlt oder war, etwa beim Tanzkongress kaum vertreten. Offensichtlich ist sie noch nicht Teil dieser Bewegung geworden” (Völckers, 2011, p.7).

Translation: “Are the practices and interests of the factions – here ballet, there the contemporary movement, over there the various approaches within the educational movement – still so drastically different? Certainly the ballet world was often missing or, for example barely represented at the Dance Congress. Apparently ballet is not yet a part of this movement.”

Foellmer raised the challenge of how to measure the benefits of less visible, less output-oriented activities aimed at supporting and choreographic development and artistic practice rather than using audience attendance figures as a measure of success:

“Wesentlich ‚unsichtbarer‘, doch nicht weniger effizient, sind Projekte wie das Artists-in-Residence-Programm des Tanzplans Potsdam. Denn hier geht es gerade darum, den Moment vor dem Sich-Zeigen zu betonen, einen Raum zu schaffen für Recherchen und Proben ohne Produktzwang. Darum, einen Ort zu kreieren, dessen ‚Output‘ sich freilich nicht in hohen Publikumszahlen messen lässt, sondern vielmehr in der Förderung und Qualifizierung choreografischen Arbeitens” (Foellmer, 2009, p.2).

Translation: “Much less visible, but no less efficient are projects like Tanzplan Potsdam’s artists-in-residence programme. Then what this is really about is to emphasise the moment before one reveals oneself, to create space for research and rehearsals without the pressure ‘to produce’. Hence the reason to create a place whose output may not be measurable in high audience attendance figures, but is focused on the advancement and qualification of choreographic work.”

The measurability question arose in reviews of the Potsdam programme (Schwartz, 2010, p.4; Mustroph, 2012, p.14) where positive comments from artists themselves: -

“Einem Künstler kann eigentlich nichts besseres passieren, als in dieses Projekt aufgenommen zu werden” (Djordjevich, 2010, p.4).

Translation: “Nothing better could happen to an artist than to be accepted into this project.”

- were countered by the uncertainty surrounding the future of such a programme when the outcomes of such an esoteric exercise were difficult to define:

“Eine Bilanz ist für ein so komplexes und letztlich zumindest nicht primär für die Öffentlichkeit gedachtes Unternehmen natürlich schwer zu ziehen” (Schwartz, 2010, p.4).

Translation: “Taking stock of such a complex undertaking and let’s face it, one not intended primarily for the general public, is difficult.”

However, the need to qualify and quantify the success and output of the programme in some way in order to secure continued funding was recognised by its organisers:

“Die Ergebnisse der Residenzen müssten in Zukunft noch stärker auch nach außen sichtbar gemacht werden” (Melzig, 2010, p.4).

Translation: “The outcomes of the residencies must be made even more visible externally in future.”

Two years later the question of the value of residencies to both performer and host was evident as the lack of immediate, tangible benefits for the town of Potsdam and the fleeting nature of the connection between artist and town made both Brandenburg and Potsdam reluctant to commit to full funding of the residency programme. This prompted one of the sponsors of the initiative to ask:

“Aber wie will man Künstler an Potsdam binden? Man kann es nicht als Bedingung festschreiben. Und man muss vor allem Geduld haben und langfristig denken, damit so eine Beziehung überhaupt erst entstehen kann” (Niemann, 2012, p.14).

Translation: “But how can one tie artists to Potsdam? It cannot be mandated. Above all you need patience and must think long-term in order to be able to even establish a relationship.”

Conversely, too much institutional involvement was seen as a threat to progress, causing friction and a loss of momentum as well as forcing unattractive compromises to be made that might only provide limited benefits:

“Allerdings haben die ubiquitär geforderten und installierten Netzwerke auch ihre Schattenseite, die man bei einigen regionalen Tanzplänen beobachten kann: Sind zu viele Träger und mit ihnen zu viele Interessengruppen in Entscheidungen involviert, so geht unterwegs bei erhöhter Reibung Schubkraft verloren. Es müssen Kompromisse ausgehandelt werden, die den Resultaten, man möchte

sagen: der Kunst, nur bedingt guttun. Ob dies vorerst der Preis der Beute sein muss, um eine erhöhte Standfestigkeit zu haben und einen größeren Druck auf die Politik ausüben zu können, ist die Frage” (Boldt, 2011a, pp. 2-3).

Translation: “However the ubiquitously demanded and installed networks have their downsides and are visible in some regional dance plans: If there are too many sponsors and too many interest groups involved with them then a lot of momentum can be lost through friction. Compromises have to be negotiated that are only partly beneficial for the outcomes, indeed for the art form itself. The question is: Is this the price of the prize, in order to achieve greater stability and to be able to exert more political pressure?”

According to Boldt the network concept, albeit an effective way of leveraging resources, might limit flexibility and speed of decision-making. The central question for the author was whether or not this was the price necessary to achieve greater stability and to be able to exercise more pressure on politicians in the future.

7.5.4 Dance Scholarship

Recognition and legitimacy in the form of academic scholarship are a common way for cultural disciplines, including the applied arts, to develop. However, as Susanne Foellmer observed in her critique of attempts to make dance conform to the structures and constraints of academic thinking:

“Was aber gibt es über Tanz zu wissen? Kann Tanz als Kunstform in die quadratischen Schachteln von Wissenschaft gepackt werden? ” (Foellmer, 2008, p.3).

Translation: “What is there to know about dance? Can dance as an art form be packed into the square boxes of scholarship? ”

Whether as a panacea for health and educational weaknesses or the source of new insights into the body, dance has been appropriated by numerous parties with an agenda to define new areas of scholarship designed to establish

it alongside the traditional, already legitimised art forms such as theatre and music:

“Es ist ein handelndes Wissen, das sich, bedingt durch die Unbeständigkeit seines Gegenstandes, nicht an wohlfeilen akademischen Konzepten entlang hangeln kann, sondern immer wieder danach fragen muss, wie und wodurch es seine Erkenntnisse gewinnt und recht fertigt” (Foellmer, 2008, p.3).

Translation: “It is an active form of knowledge, which is unable to edge its way past hackneyed academic concepts, because of the transient nature of its substance. Instead it has to constantly ask how and by what means it gains its insights and justifies them.”

In terms of artistic research and design only one Tanzplan project, the artists-in-residence programme in Potsdam, actually examined how choreographers and performers could experiment with creative processes to research and design a variety of dance projects - in essence an intrinsic exercise, which did not ask what contribution dance could make beyond simply developing a better understanding of the creative process itself without the pressure to produce an ‘output’ such as a dance piece (Tanzplan, 2011, [8], p.66).

The tension that emerged overall from the scholarship discourse highlighted a superficial wish to support intrinsic artistic activity, but demanded simultaneously an extrinsic return on the investment. This tension was implied in the critique that Maria Vogel (2012, p.3) directed at the growing trend towards dispensing with dance criticism and relying simply on media announcements and press releases to advertise forthcoming events, reducing the arts to a consumer good:

“Service journalism is what counts, as art and culture become increasingly treated like mere recreational tips in lifestyle magazines.”

The paucity of serious reflection on the performance and its artistic value in favour of promoting attendance and consumption threatens ultimately the integrity and artistry of the works and underlying creative process in question. As Vogel contended, it might not concern the audience, but for the freelance contemporary dance artist:

“...perhaps it’s worth considering the implications when, between the innocent event announcement, the actual performance and the next funding application for a new piece there is no opportunity for reflection for the creators and the spectators beyond the praise that premieres customarily enjoy” (Vogel, 2012, p.3).

7.6 Hochschulübergreifendes Zentrum Tanz – from Pilot Project to Hybrid Institution

The Inter-University Centre for Dance Berlin (HZT) - Pilot Project Tanzplan Berlin received start-up-financing as part of the Tanzplan-vor-Ort projects to create the first (and long awaited) contemporary educational institute for dance and choreography in Germany’s capital city. Members of Berlin’s independent dance scene and institutions of higher education worked together to implement joint plans for the centre, which is based in the so-called Uferstudios, a former transportation depot. Headed by the Berlin Senate, project partners included the Universität der Künste (UdK), the Hochschule für Schauspielkunst “Ernst Busch” (HfS) and various members of the Berlin’s dance scene, represented by TanzRaumBerlin.

A four-year pilot phase for research and testing formed the basis for the new institute. The goal was to implement bachelor degree programmes in dance, choreography, and dance education, as well as the first master’s degree programme in Solo Dance Authorship (SODA). The programmes were conceived and tested in several phases, so that they could be offered as both bachelor’s and master’s degree programmes through the Inter-University Centre for Dance Berlin¹²¹.

At the end of the first year in the programme ‘Bachelor in contemporary dance, context, choreography’ a review by Franz Anton Cramer, a visiting professor at the HZT, illustrated the contradiction inherent in creating an academic/vocational programme of this type and the difficulty of measuring the intrinsic value and comparability of such a course using traditional assessment metrics. The fluidity and randomness of the creative process in

¹²¹ Tanzplan web site: http://www.tanzplan-deutschland.de/berlin.php?id_language=2. [Accessed 15 September 2012].

developing and teaching the course was at odds with the demand to conform to traditional evaluation formats:

“Denn entgegen den institutionellen Anforderungen an Prüfbarkeit, Vergleichswerten, Bemessung von Anwesenheitszeiten...bleibt es der inhaltliche Auftrag, so weit wie moeglich von deartigen Format-Erwartungen abzuweichen und das Studium in jedem Moment neu zu konzipieren, anders zu gewichten, kreativ zu verbiegen und aus den Konflikten und Auseinandersetzungen konstruktive Schlüsse zu ziehen” (Cramer, 2008, p.8).

Translation: “In contrast to the institutional demands for measurability, comparative values, attendance monitoring...the task, with regard to content, is to diverge as much as possible from such standard expectations and to constantly re-invent the course, to assess it differently, to creatively distort it and extract constructive conclusions from the conflicts and disputes.”

In acknowledging deficits in the study programme Cramer described the setting up of a forum to address the gaps, but with the explicit remit to avoid a prescriptive problem-solving process. This recognised the need to respond to issues, but retained a perspective that implied that creativity within the process itself was paramount.

The practitioner-oriented pilot MA course, SODA (SOlo/Dance/Authorship), illustrated the challenge of evaluating a course that combined research into artistic practice with personal performance experimentation and the ability to articulate dance practice in relation to other forms of expression¹²². As with the BA programme the students on the pilot project were in the unusual situation of being able to help construct the content and format of their course themselves. In the second term the students rejected the planned approach to respond to the stimuli of established artists and instead created their own mini teaching formats and hosted their own “Kuratierungs-Tage” or curating days at which they invited dance scholars and performers to attend lectures, performances and other events (Nehring, 2009, p.11).

Of necessity in such an embryonic environment the teaching process had to be adaptable and experimental, even democratic, in sharing

¹²² Sources: Schwartz, T.2010, p.5; www.udk-berlin.de/tanz, 11-12/2008, p.8.

responsibilities between the teachers and the taught, but also needed to yield an output that was informative, credible and measurable. The question of how this might be achieved once the process of teaching is institutionalised confronts the observer with the dilemma of deciding whether or not the practice of teaching and learning or the balance of roles taken by teacher and pupil are more valuable than the qualification ‘product’ itself.

However, the boundaries and constraints to which the HZT is now subject became clearer when Franz Anton Cramer¹²³ described the institutional governance and decision-making structures that defined the academic and cultural-political environment in which the HZT is obliged to function in order to maintain its support from Berlin’s funding and accreditation agencies¹²⁴. There is a committee for setting fees, appointing teachers and approving the budget (Gemeinsames Kommission (GK)). There is also a three-person directorate that reports to the GK as well as an administrative team responsible for operations, but with no executive authority. Additionally there is an expert committee that supports the GK with regard to course and subject development and an international advisory board that provides insights and comparisons with other similar initiatives.

In spite of the relative freedoms accorded the pilot course the obligation of having to comply with traditional forms of accreditation and legitimation in order to ensure the continuity of the programme highlighted the tension between the intrinsic objectives of the SODA programme and the extrinsic ‘value’ of the investment in the programme in the first place.

From an individual perspective the nature of the knowledge that the students accumulated during their courses was paramount. For one graduate¹²⁵ the contextualisation and legitimation, as part of academic practice, of what was taught, performed and learned was a significant aspect of his answers to the ‘value’ questions (e.g. “Are things different?” or “Are you already

¹²³ Franz Anton Cramer is a visiting professor at the HZT since 2008 and participated in developing the pilot courses at the HZT in contemporary dance, context and choreography.

¹²⁴ Berliner Hochschulverträge: These are agreements between the City State of Berlin and Berlin’s higher education establishments to promote sustainable forms of organization, co-operation and financing. Source: <http://www.berlin.de/sen/wissenschaft-und-forschung/rechtsvorschriften/hochschulvertraege/>

¹²⁵ Felix Marchand, Choreographer and graduate of the pilot MA SODA programme. Featured in TRB, Nov-Dec. 2009, p.11.

benefiting from it?") posed by friends, fellow artists and observers about the course.

The location of the HZT in the Uferstudios also plays an important role in the development of a unique identity. Described as the interface between the arts and study facilities for contemporary dance in Berlin, the centre has become a hub for the freelance scene in Berlin with access to a world-wide network that gives students tangible, practitioner-oriented experience of creating and learning about dance and choreography. Creativity and aesthetic daring are emphasised – allowing professionals to exchange ideas with each other and with students in a kind of “sustained unreadiness” (Friedrich, 2011). Elisabeth Wellershaus augments this view with her observation that since its founding the HZT has been open for the unconventional and that as a hybrid organization it offers something that is neither a classical dance training nor a purely theoretical course, but something in-between:

“Der interdisziplinäre Tanzausbildungsort [] bietet weder den praxisorientierten Technikdrill klassischer Tanzausbildungen an, noch ein rein tanzwissenschaftliches Studium. Stattdessen bedient es das Dazwischen” (Wellershaus, 2012b, p.2).

Translation: “The interdisciplinary dance training venue [] offers neither a practitioner-oriented technique drill nor a purely scholarly course of study. Instead it operates somewhere between the two.”

Although not explicit, the moral argument that the general public should also have access to the HZT is highlighted as part of the chronology of the Uferstudios dance centre. Having become known as a centre for contemporary dance in Berlin, providing audiences with the opportunity to actively participate in dance and performance art, the idea that lay people should also be able to participate in the scholarly side of dance took hold:

“Nun will die Ausbildungsstätte für Tanzschaffende sich aber nicht mit szeneninterner Ausbildung begnügen” (Wellershaus, 2012a, p.11).

Translation: “Now the training establishment for dance practitioners does not intend to be content with just training dance sector insiders.”

The formats of the events, combining lectures with an entertainment event such as a concert or dance performance, are regarded as not only appealing, but also as a way of artists and their public coming into closer contact with each other. Furthermore, these events are seen as a vehicle for communicating beyond the boundaries of the dance scene and as a way of understanding better what a modern dance and choreography education really means:

“So näherte man sich unter anderem der Frage, was ein zeitgemäßes Tanz- und Choreografiestudium dieser Tage eigentlich bedeute” (Wellershaus, 2012a).

Translation: “As a consequence you get closer to answering the question what a course of contemporary dance and choreography means in this day and age.”

The unconventional nature of the HZT also affects the relationship that the centre has with its former students. In preparing its students for the harsh realities of the market, it offers alumni the chance to use the facilities for up to a year after graduation and gives access to a network of contacts that is both local and international. Even the city’s event organisers appear to have developed a sense of responsibility towards up-and-coming artists, although, as the Managing Director for the HZT, Eva-Maria Hoerster, emphasises, above all else the HZT helps its students consciously develop and accept responsibility for creating their own professional environment after graduation (Hoerster, in Wellershaus, 2012b, p.2). This was an important part of the HZT’s transition from pilot project to institution according to Hoerster.

Looking even further ahead, as the HZT matures as an institution and the practices that characterise it become taken-for-granted, it risks losing its independence and unconventional approach to artist training and mentoring. The pressure to conform to institutional norms will inevitably grow and this may compromise its responsibilities towards its students. However, for the time being the hegemony of the aesthetic-artistic logic is clearly visible in the discourses of the HZT’s staff and students.

7.7 Summary and Discussion

The responses to Tanzplan tended to spotlight its programmatic, targeted function. Only the funding model used, i.e. Match Funding and its cultural and political role as a co-ordination and networking agency really delineated Tanzplan from other institutional representatives of the German dance sector.

Although no explicit resistance was visible in the responses to Tanzplan, nevertheless the lack of attention given to the need for an overarching national function, with protagonists instead choosing to appropriate the same or similar functions for local agencies as in the example of the Koalition der Freien Szene in Berlin, suggested reluctance in aligning with federal bodies.

The localised discourse in Berlin illustrated the divisions that exist not only between the arts, but also within and between genres, e.g. the independent contemporary dance scene in Berlin and the institutionalised Staatsballett. Moreover, long-standing issues with dance infrastructure, funding models and living standards for freelance dancers and other professionals in contrast to the more secure support afforded the institutionalised cultural sector formed the core of the advocacy role proposed locally. In spite of contradictory positions taken by the freelance group, the ‘nationalisation of culture’ and with it the obligation to meet performance targets and policy objectives in order to secure funding, was seen as a threat to the creativity and independence of all performing arts.

Almost as a token gesture Tanzplan included a single, purely intrinsic project in its portfolio, namely the Tanzplan Potsdam, aimed at supporting artists in developing experimental ideas, but without the need to evidence a measurable outcome. This intrinsic view of the arts was most frequently visible in the TanzRaumBerlin texts, but never as overtly as in the manifesto of declaration of the Free Coalition. What was also remarkable was that forums such as tanzbüroberlin, supported by the cultural ministry in Berlin gave a voice to the local dance sector both in support of and against initiatives such as Tanzplan. Thus, whilst the benefits of Tanzplan were actively recorded and disseminated, its future political agenda and aims for a national dance centre were subsumed into more localised debates.

Dance training and education were pursued in a differentiated, but instrumental manner in Tanzplan’s discourse. Hence, whilst the HZT

(Tanzplan-vor-Ort) initiative was deemed important as the first example in Germany of a conservatoire for dance that combined both the practice and the theory of dance, it remained separate and distinct from ‘community dance’ training and education initiatives, aimed primarily at young people and children. Moreover, whilst the discourse that featured in some cultural and political texts acknowledged Tanzplan for its social and health benefits (with many of the projects involving the theme of inclusion or accessibility to the public), the texts generated about the HZT, as it transitioned from pilot to fully fledged higher education institute, spotlighted instead the unique experimental nature of both its teaching and learning practices.

Furthermore, whereas the question of inclusion and access is addressed directly by community projects in adapting their formats and processes to the needs of their audiences, HZT maintains the hegemonic position of the artist by simply permitting the general public to attend established lecture and seminar programmes. Sustainability, another core discourse of Tanzplan, is constructed in terms of social practice whereby agents and organizations are obliged to co-operate in ways not previously observed to create resource networks across municipalities, regions and nationally. In contrast in practitioner texts sustainability is more about the need for tangible infrastructure and funding for production and performers. The voice of the freelance sector is muted in the Tanzplan texts themselves with only the Match Funding model being cited as an attraction for freelancers to co-operate with the local or regional cultural establishment. Moreover, whilst Tanzplan referenced only briefly the dependency on performance measurement as a justification and legitimating factor for investment in culture and programmes such as Tanzplan itself, the freelance sector saw this as a significant brake on its artistic autonomy.

Of all Tanzplan’s initiatives the cultural heritage project was the most differentiated in the interest accorded to it by the dance sector. Whilst Tanzplan initiated the project primarily to give both broader access to practitioners of dance generally and to simplify the legal and commercial protection of dance artefacts the interest for dance scholars lay chiefly in achieving legitimacy for dance as a scholarly, academic discipline, commensurate with other artistic genres.

Despite its complexity the German cultural bureaucratic machine was able to create a demonstrably co-ordinated approach to furthering the aims of dance in Germany through the Tanzplan programme.

However, disparities emerged between the aims of Tanzplan and those of the dance sector. These were particularly visible in the categories with distinctly cultural-political agendas, i.e. advocacy and sustainability. Despite maintaining some ambiguity about its role, Tanzplan remained first and foremost a funding body, rather than a future role model for the cultural-political management of dance in Germany. Although slightly less ambiguous, the initiatives clustered around dance education and training and scholarship also demonstrated a divergence in perspective. The extrinsic instrumentality of many of the accessibility and awareness projects contrasted with the view of training as an intrinsically creative and valuable process in itself.

7.8 Conclusions

In this chapter we have shown that the responses to cultural policy discourses in the UK and Germany do vary in spite of ostensibly similar objectives being cited as justification for the measures adopted. The four case examples selected for an assessment of the implications of cultural policy in the UK and Germany were representative of the contemporary dance fields in both countries and comprised institutional and freelance organizations involved in a variety of activities relevant to dance policy, including dance training and education and artistic practice. All four case organizations are dependent to varying degrees on public subsidies. Two of them, Dance Umbrella and the Berlin contemporary dance scene, comprise freelance dancers and choreographers whose work focuses on preparing and staging dance performances. Conversely, The Place and Berlin's HZT are examples of institutions primarily engaged in dance training and education activities. This distinction is important as we showed that artistic practice and the autonomy to practise it outside the confines of political and institutional constraints was highly valued and an important aspect of a dance organization's or practitioner's identity.

We also showed that despite an overarching commitment to 'cultural education' in both countries, the varying degrees of emphasis on and support

for specific aspects such as professional dance training and scholarship resulted in differences in the approaches taken by dance organizations.

In the UK case examples the discourses on identity, legitimacy and artistic practice demonstrated an ongoing conflict between the artistic-aesthetic logic and the social-market logic. Dance Umbrella and The Place simultaneously attempted to satisfy both, but the multi-functional role of The Place enabled it to accommodate conflicting logics and discourses more easily than Dance Umbrella. The primary role of Dance Umbrella as a showcase for contemporary dance came under threat from a social-market logic that sought to displace the hegemony of the individual choreographer-performer and instead privilege the collective as chief arbiter of taste, value and appeal. The resulting threat to its existence, exacerbated by the funding cuts of 2011, resulted in Dance Umbrella being faced with the dilemma of adopting more commercial populist practices or reinforcing its original artistic-aesthetic commitment.

In Germany Tanzplan promulgated four main discourses with the hegemonic one being centred on advocacy. Notable in the responses by both the German case examples was an absence of debate about federal advocacy, instead a more localised perspective was preferred, which may partly be due to the unusual status accorded to Berlin's state government in 2006 when it was granted more accountability for cultural policy making and funding. Equally the responses to the other discourses on sustainability, dance education and training and dance scholarship contrasted with Tanzplan's more instrumental aims and reinforced an aesthetic-artistic logic. For example, whereas 'sustainability' was promoted as a discourse about measurability and performance by Tanzplan, the practitioner discourse emphasised instead infrastructure, facilities and living standards. Furthermore, discursive responses to questions of dance education and training privileged the professional choreographer-performer and challenged the taken-for-grantedness of the social-market discourse that privileged accessibility and other forms of dance practice such as community dance. Dance scholarship was another discourse that was characterised by subtle distinctions made between instrumental objectives involving heritage preservation and archival resources on the one hand and the intent of scholars to establish the legitimacy of dance in its own right alongside other art forms as a serious intellectual endeavour.

In summary we have demonstrated how policy discourses are variously appropriated, resisted or re-interpreted by organizations in their discursive responses. We have indicated that a diverse functional role facilitates compliance with imposed logics, whereas a more distinct identity restricts the ability to accommodate insurgent logics and can result in direct conflict between intrinsic and extrinsic aims as in the example of the UK cases. We have also shown how a policy discourse can be deflected to suit the objectives of other participants in the field by adopting alternative interpretations of signifying words and phrases as in the German cases.

These variations in discursive behaviour and the concomitant implications for dominance in the dance field between imposed cultural and political logics and discourse and practitioners are now examined in the concluding chapter Eight (8).

CHAPTER EIGHT Discussion and Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

The objective of this thesis was to ask why, in the face of ostensibly similar cultural policy initiatives created in the wake of fiscal pressures on public sector funding in the UK and Germany, implementation outcomes differ?

The research questions focused on three main aspects of policy making and its practice amongst contemporary dance organizations in the UK and Germany. Firstly, we asked how cultural policy, and in particular, dance policy is constructed and legitimated in both countries as a platform for the promotion of contemporary dance nationally. Secondly, we questioned how a dance policy that comprises both intrinsic and extrinsic aims affects dance organizations and practitioners in terms of the influence that it has on notions of legitimacy, identity and aesthetic-artistic practice. Thirdly, by drawing together the insights from the policy and practice analysis we considered the implications for power relations in the dance field and the relative positioning of organizations in both countries.

The UK and German contemporary dance sectors were selected in order to compare and contrast policy and practice approaches between two countries whose experience of dance culture, its purpose and organization vary, but who have both adopted similar cultural policy measures in the face of economic austerity and the need to justify investment in the arts generally. We contrasted an inherently instrumental attitude towards the arts and dance in the UK with one that is more intrinsic, but also more politically oriented in Germany. We chose contemporary dance as the field of analysis, because it is regarded as both a source of artistic innovation and an under-represented sector at a political level within the dance field when compared to popular theatre dance or classical forms such as ballet.

We used an integrated institutional logics framework based on the model suggested by Thornton et al. (2012) and adapted it to include Bourdieu's concept of practice in order to be able to consider the issues of conflict and resistance when organizations confront insurgent logics. The research questions were examined using both a comparative-historical approach to

provide context for the analysis of changes to two defining institutional logics, i.e. an extrinsic social-market logic that combines commercial and welfare objectives with an intrinsic aesthetic-artistic one, and critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine the responses at multiple levels to the ways in which these logics manifested themselves. The CDA methodology, based on Fairclough's three-dimensional framework was adopted to help unearth the ideological intent of the discourse and to explicitly consider how inequalities in power relations are reproduced (Fairclough, 1995, p.17) through the use of language in different contexts. Fairclough's methodology was modified to enable a structured, multi-level analysis of the texts and to facilitate the exemplification of important insights extracted from the texts without attempting a minute linguistic evaluation of the texts. Sensemaking was applied to examine how organizations and actors mediate between extant and insurgent logics and the changes to the dynamics of identity and practices. We also considered how sensegiving, in the form of discursive strategies deployed by policy makers in their texts, was used to privilege claims to legitimacy for the policy and its objectives. The findings pertaining to the research questions are discussed in terms of theoretical and empirical contributions, and cultural policy implications for the UK and Germany. The limitations of this thesis and indicators for further research are explored in the final section.

8.2 Key Arguments and Findings

This section summarises the findings from the comparative-historical and critical discursive analysis of texts associated with questions of dance policy and the history of dance in the UK and German contemporary dance sectors and responses to those texts by dance organizations and practitioners.

In the first sub-section we discuss the impact of historical contingency in the development of the dance sectors in the UK and Germany, examining the mediating influence of historical and present-day institutional arrangements for cultural policy making in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic notions of cultural value. This is consistent with Thornton et al.'s (2012, Ch. 1, p.6) view that institutions are historically contingent. It also provides us with the lens through which we can view policy and practice implications resulting from political,

economic and cultural changes during a period dating from the late 19th century until the present-day. Particular emphasis placed on the period between the late 1990s and the present day when both the UK and German governments took specific steps to articulate dance policy against the backdrop of neo-liberal trends exemplified by the Creative Industries' discourse. The key finding is that whilst external pressures on cultural production have elicited similar responses from the UK and German governments to find ways of combining arguments justifying the arts generally, e.g. based on aesthetic-artistic merit (intrinsic value) with public and economic externalities and socially equitable access (extrinsic value) that demonstrate value for money or efficiency (when compared to the 'market'), the underlying logics and institutional arrangements that govern the policies and responses to them are contingent upon historical, cultural and political events and attitudes towards the arts in both countries.

In the second sub-section we compare the key determinants of cultural policy in the UK and Germany and argue that whereas both adhere broadly to 'cultural education' as an umbrella concept encompassing objectives promoting artistic excellence, dance training and audience accessibility, the prominence given by the policies to the logics varies. This results in competition between dance organizations and practitioners/ actors to privilege certain aspects of the discourse in order to rationalize and legitimate changes to organizational identity and practices. Furthermore we show that advocacy is a key feature of the role of Tanzplan both as a form of legitimation for the programme itself and also as a strategy to promote a national representative body for dance that would act as an interface and mediator between politicians, cultural administrators and the dance field in Germany. In the UK dance advocacy, as funding and strategic support, is centralised in the form of Arts Council England, which has overall responsibility for the arts in the UK. Representation in the UK amongst different genres is based primarily on a distinction between community dance and support agencies on the one hand and organizations representing dance artists/performers, conservatoires and dance companies on the other.

In the third sub-section we discuss the specific strategies used in the UK and Germany to legitimate cultural policy. We show that the institutional governance of cultural policy making is an important determinant of the policy formation processes and the discourses used to legitimate it. In the UK, where

culture and the arts are subsumed under a government department that also deals with sport and media (DCMS), we find that arts and dance policy is subject to policy attachment, i.e. to health and well-being objectives. The contested definition of dance, i.e. performing art or physical/ sporting activity, has resulted in a policy that is a compromise of both. However, certain pedagogic practices such as funding application processes and discourses foreground commercial management practices and privilege extrinsic, social-market logics at the expense of aesthetic-artistic ones that favour excellence and the notion of 'art for art's sake'. In contrast to the UK experience we found that the legitimization strategy in Germany was focused on using the Tanzplan initiative to demonstrate that a successful co-ordination and funding model could be developed at a federal level. The co-ordinating role of the Tanzplan also encompassed allocating funding, but the use of the 'Match Funding' approach meant that funding application processes and decisions were a compromise of federal and regional government priorities and so a more balanced discourse supporting both artistic and instrumental aims was discernible in the German approach.

In the fourth sub-section we compare and contrast the discourses used by dance field practitioners to appropriate the main social-market logic so as to align themselves favourably with policy objectives and effect changes to established notions of legitimacy and identity. In the case of the UK we see two distinct strategies being adopted. The first involves organizations in the community dance and support sectors appropriating logics associated with access and healthy living in order to argue in favour of professional recognition on a par with dance artists and choreographers. The second strategy sees dance organizations like UK's The Place and Dance Umbrella foregrounding the work they undertake to comply with multiple policy objectives, whilst maintaining identities that echo their origins as pioneers of the UK contemporary dance movement in the 1960s and 1970s. However, we observed that disruptive events such as the severe round of funding cuts announced in 2011 had a discontinuous effect on the discourses used by these organizations. We argue that where a multi-functional role exists and consequently multiple claims to legitimacy, as in the case of The Place in the UK, the organization can draw on a variety of discourses and logics of practice that show alignment with the policy discourse, but do not necessarily compromise its intrinsic

aesthetic-artistic identity. In contrast Dance Umbrella, with its pronounced role as a festival founded to promote and showcase new dance, was faced with the dilemma of taking either a more populist stance or reinforcing its original intent and purpose by refocusing on intentionally new and challenging work by emerging choreographers. Notably, the Festival adopted the latter approach and the overt aesthetic-artistic discourse in the texts preceding the 2012 Festival conflicts with some of the dance critic reviews published about the performances of that season. The German examples suggest that rather than insurgent logics being appropriated, they are viewed with a degree of scepticism by the field (Wellershaus, 2008, p.1) as in the case of Community Dance. Countering the taken-for-granted notion that there is a logical connection between art and social engagement, practitioners of community dance were obliged to justify the genre with a variety of ethical and emotive arguments. The actual rational justification for Community Dance accepted that the onus was on practitioners to demonstrate that the genre can satisfy quality and artistic criteria similar to those applied to professional, performing artists (Walter, 2008, p.2). In the HZT example the status and purpose of the centre remained immune to insurgent logics, supported as it was by the Tanzplan initiative and described as an interdisciplinary dance training venue combining practitioner training and dance scholarship. Its identity and legitimacy appeared unassailable in discourses that emphasised the centre's catalytic role in stimulating and encouraging aesthetic daring and creativity (Friedrich, 2011).

In the fifth sub-section we discuss our findings concerning the impact of insurgent logics on artistic and organizational practices. In the UK we find that commercial or market-oriented capabilities are constructed as practices that are both entrepreneurial and creative. Consequently they tend to be closely aligned with the UK's 'creative' industries' discourse. Marketing, fund-raising and the ability to manage a career in the dance sector through self-promotion are foregrounded as desirable practices. In Germany artistic practice is privileged although a tension is recognised in the trend towards dance criticism as a marketing service on behalf of events rather than as a serious review of the aesthetic-artistic achievement of the performance (Vogel, 2012, p.3). The paucity of serious reviews of performances has both advantages and disadvantages. Whilst raising the profile of a dance event the lack of objective

reflection on the aesthetics or artistry of a work in some reviews leaves the artist in a vacuum regarding creative development and growth and may inhibit future innovation. Funding and support issues featured frequently in the responses of artists and a tension was visible between sponsored organizations representing classical forms of dance and the freelance sector, which is where the contemporary dance scene frequently resides. The policy discourses, articulated through Tanzplan, acknowledged financing inequalities between the state institutions and the freelance sector, but did not exhort more obvious commercial practices to be adopted. Rather the programme sponsored projects that intentionally sought to oblige the two groups to co-operate in new or experimental ways. Thus, the Hamburg K3 project gained additional funding beyond the end of Tanzplan as a result of being prepared to include the freelance sector in its annual programming (Tanzplan, 2011 [8], p.63) and the residency project in Potsdam was solely about experimenting and testing the artistic and creative process without the requirement to produce a defined, measurable output (Foellmer, 2009, p.2).

In the final sub-section we discuss how the outcomes of the cultural policy legitimization strategies shape relative positions of power within the dance field, especially with regard to the right to bestow legitimacy on different forms of practice. We show that in the UK the result is a challenge to the traditional hegemony of the choreographer-dancer and the dominance of the London scene. For Germany we argue that at an institutional, federal level Tanzplan fails in its initial attempt to create a national representative advocate organization. We also show that in spite of the introduction of a social-market logic into the discourses used by German policy makers, the intrinsic aesthetic-artistic logic remains dominant amongst artists themselves even where a conflict exists between those who reject ‘nationalised art’ in favour of public funding decisions being made by independent experts and those who see the creative industries’, market-oriented approach as being the only way to avoid incessant monitoring and measurement (Wesemann, 2012, p.3).

Finally we summarise the key findings to discuss the contribution and implications for future cultural policy making. The limitations of the research and the implications for future research are presented in the concluding remarks.

8.2.1 Historically Contingent policy making

We found that the role of cultural policy in relation to dance was determined by the historical trajectory of dance development. Although the late 18th and early 19th centuries were a period when the arts flourished generally throughout Europe as a result of extensive and rapid economic growth, dance remained sidelined by social and cultural biases towards its different forms and associations with sporting activity. In both the UK and Germany artistic and creative output was significant, but the emphasis was on the performing and literary arts like theatre, art and music rather than on dance.

For both the UK and Germany the era just prior to and after World War I acted as a breakpoint for dance, but the responses to the historical changes differed between the two countries. Whilst the UK absorbed the classical ballet tradition and superior quality exemplified by the tours of Diaghilev and his company in 1911, Germany used the new-found freedoms of the Weimar Republic to create a form of individual, expressionistic dance that owed much to the work of American choreographers and dancers like Isadora Duncan. Ausdruckstanz was the first recognisably distinct dance genre in Germany.

Neither country had a formal government arts body representing dance between the two World Wars, but with the rise of the Nazis a political motivation to control the arts emerged in Germany that was absent in the UK during this period. Whereas contemporary dance in Germany had had to rely on private initiatives throughout the 1920s, the Nazis gradually imposed both ideological and structural control on dance organizations:

“The state, a totalitarian amalgam of power, henceforth constituted the only framework for the recognition of dance and its standing among the other arts. The individualism of the 1920s now began to be defamed in favour of the group-enhancing potential of choric dancing” (Jeschke & Vettermann, 2000, p.59).

From 1938 onwards all budding professional dancers were obliged to attend the German Master School for Dance as the regime attempted to use its dominance to institutionalize dance and create a national identity for dance. However, in spite of the centralisation of much dance activity, rivalries between cultural politicians undermined these efforts and allowed a freelance

modern dance counterculture to survive, albeit somewhat precariously. Ballet exponents maintained a low political profile, protected as they were by their association with institutional theatre systems and the security this afforded, but the repertoire that was created during the Nazi era quickly fell out of favour after the Second World War.

In contrast the UK saw a gradual expansion of dance activity during the 1920s when several ballet companies and schools were created independently of any form of formal state control. The outbreak of WWII however, led to the formation of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) and the Entertainments National Service Association (ENSA), whose main purpose was to boost citizen morale in the regions with a mixture of theatre, music and dancing performed by professional entertainers. After the war the desire to both maintain some degree of continuity and in the view of John Maynard Keynes, CEMA's Chair from 1941 onwards, "carry the arts throughout the countryside and maintain metropolitan standards" was the Arts Council of Great Britain formed (Tusa, 2000, p.21).

During the post-war period dance in the UK continued to grow, albeit slowly. Immediately after the war only three companies were funded by the Arts Council, all ballet companies. Contemporary dance did not appear until the 1960s when the LSCD was formed and it was not until the 1970s that independent dance artists and movements like X6 emerged. The low-key and somewhat ambivalent attitude towards contemporary dance was maintained right up until 1979 when, after having maintained just one dance officer in the Arts Council Music Department, a dedicated Dance Department was finally created. Since then the growing diversity of activity in the dance sector has contributed towards both more funding and the emergence of choreographer-led companies as well a range of organizations representing different aspects of dance as an artistic and social and physical activity.

Whilst structural changes have occurred over the last three decades in the management of the arts and dance, centralised control of both policy and funding levels has been retained. With the emergence of impact and performance measurement in the cultural sector from the 1980s onwards and the attachment of the performing arts to policies increasingly associated with either market-oriented discourses such as the Creative Industries or with social welfare programmes, dance in the UK has still not resolved the dichotomy first

highlighted in the wartime CEMA initiative between those who saw the arts as having mainly a social function and those who regarded aesthetic-artistic excellence and the intrinsic value of the arts as the main criterion for funding and support of the arts.

In Germany the post-war period, characterised by the physical, cultural and political separation of the two Germanys, meant that in West Germany there was an:

“...acknowledgement that politics and culture can only be regarded as a multi-layered practice built on an inverted hierarchy of responsibilities” (Burns & van der Will, 2003, p.34).

In other words, central government control for the arts and culture had to be ceded to the regional and municipal authorities. The belief in the ‘Kulturhoheit’ (cultural autonomy) of the federal states continues to permeate cultural activity in Germany. Policymaking is devolved to the states as are funding allocation decisions. The federal cultural bodies have primarily a co-ordination and overarching funding role with an emphasis on identifying more diverse (e.g. commercial) sources of finance. This explains the prominence given by the Federal Cultural Foundation to the ‘Match Funding’ principle established by its initiative Tanzplan Deutschland during its negotiations with regional and municipal representatives to agree on the projects that were to form part of the portfolio.

Prior to Tanzplan dance had been supported either through an association with regional theatrical institutions or through local or municipal grants awarded to freelance companies. In the contemporary dance sector the ensemble of Pina Bausch was a rare example of a company not attached to a state theatre.

The Federal Cultural Foundation continues to be the main sponsor at a national and international level for dance and provides funding for several areas of interest in the dance field in Germany. Projects exist to target partnerships between the dance sector and schools, but also focus on greater co-operation between state-funded institutions and the independent or freelance scenes across the country. The federal states continue to retain their cultural autonomy as laid out in the Grundgesetz under article 30, although there are

ongoing debates about the degree to which federal agencies can determine policy in the cultural sector.

In contrast to the situation of the arts and dance in the UK, the absence of a single policy making body in Germany has mitigated the effects of policy attachment strategies. Whilst projects exist that focus on access and cultural education distinctly intrinsic initiatives also exist alongside them. The Germany cultural sector, situated as it within a federated structure, continues to maintain the balance established after the Second World War between conservative, institutionalised forms of culture and more individualistic forms.

8.2.2 Key Determinants of Cultural Policy

Both the UK and Germany have cultural and dance policies that display distinct functions (Belfiore & Bennett, 2008). Both adhere to a positive tradition concerning the impact of the arts, i.e. the arts provide a number of benefits:

“...ranging from the cathartic effects of the arts, to their positive impacts on health and well-being, to their progressive social and political force” (Belfiore & Bennett, 2007, p.143).

Both countries also emphasise the concept of ‘cultural education’ as an all-embracing term to describe the benefits of culture in terms of developing the individual, both physically and emotionally. However, the definition of cultural education differs slightly; in the UK it is something that is instrumental, referring to the acquisition of skills and capabilities and enabling (children) to:

“...gain knowledge through the learning of facts; understanding through the development of their critical faculties and skills through the opportunity to practise specific art forms” (Henley, 2012).

In contrast, the German definition is more holistic:

“Bei der kulturellen Bildung geht es um den ganzen Menschen, um die Bildung seiner Persönlichkeit, um Emotionen und Kreativität. Ohne kulturelle Bildung fehlt ein Schlüssel zu wahrer Teilhabe” (Connemann, [cited in kkb, 2008, p.2]).

Translation: “Cultural education is about the whole individual, about the development of his or her personality, about emotions and creativity. Without cultural education the key to true participation is missing.”

In Germany there is also a more consistent discursive link between overarching concepts like cultural education and the role of dance in promoting culture (Connemann [cited in kkb, 2008, p.3]). Tanzplan, as the main platform for dance policy, combined initiatives developed and sanctioned in other federal ministries such as the Federal Ministry of Education and Research to further dance education in schools with targeted dance teacher and dance artist training and development. It also initiated work on dance scholarship, sponsored distinctive regional projects in contemporary dance as well as existing national dance resources, conducted extensive lobbying and backed work on the preservation of dance archives using digital technology. This work was complementary and supplementary to the activities of various regional organizations responsible for dance and culminated in a call to create a national dance ‘office’ that would act as advocate, advisor, negotiator and lead initiatives to embed dance in the fabric of German society.

The UK approach is more fragmented. Whilst the source text for dance policy (HC 587-I, 2004) combined submissions and points of view from across the dance sector an absence of a unifying discourse was apparent. Although implicit in the government text, the signifying term ‘cultural education’ was not referenced in any of the submissions. This resulted in a seemingly isolated set of responses from participants at the time and is still apparent in the management of different initiatives. For example, support for youth dance is separate from schemes designed to support dance artist training, whilst dance scholarship and heritage preservation are led by a joint team of researchers and professional dancers funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. In addition the interests of professional performers are represented primarily by Dance UK. Although ACE is the overarching national government body that formulates implementation and funding strategies for the arts sector in the UK, policy priorities are set by the DCMS, which in turn comprises multiple competing interests. The disconnect becomes even more obvious in the publication ‘Cultural Education in England’, a report commissioned by the

DCMS, which highlighted the difficulty of implementing a consistent approach to culture and the arts:

“Part of the patchiness that is evident in the delivery of Cultural Education in England is due to varying levels of prioritisation of culture by different Local Authorities across the country” (Henley, 2012, p.9).

The lack of co-ordination across dance disciplines was made obvious in a series of separate recommendations given in the report that suggested that there had been a lack of progress in certain areas, in spite of the objectives set out in the 2004 policy text emphasising ambitions to ensure excellence, access and healthy living through dance participation (Henley, 2012, pp.49-52). These recommendations emphasised particularly the promotion of excellence, i.e. funding for conservatoires and courses aimed at dance and drama as well as increased support for youth dance. A call for new qualifications aimed at ‘cultural practitioners’ also reflected the desire for legitimisation of the activities of artists involved in education rather than in performance.

Overall German cultural and dance policy balances both intrinsic and extrinsic objectives for the arts more evenly than the UK.

8.2.3 Strategies for legitimating cultural policy

We examined the discursive strategies adopted in the policy texts in terms of their logical, ethical and emotional emphasis. This approach complemented the CDA analysis by creating a connection between the overall political intent of the text and the stress placed on specific semantic aspects in order to effect shifts in institutional logics. The implication is thus that logics that deploy multiple discursive strategies to ‘give sense’ or justify change are intended to displace or relativise existing logics.

In the UK discursive strategies used in policy-related texts showed a tendency to emphasise ethical and emotional rhetoric. Examples of this included the key text that introduced the UK’s stance on dance (HC 587-I, p.13, §20). The ethical strategy of the text emphasised the need to ensure equitable access to dance for children and linked it directly to collaboration with the Department for Education and Skills. Emotive rhetoric was evident in

the use of terms like ‘cherish’ and ‘support’ and was applied to the notion of ‘excellence’. The accessibility argument implied rationality regarding the future direction that a child might take in relation to dance, but the rhetoric supporting artistic excellence for its own sake was passive in comparison to the more dynamic language pertaining to the socially desirable aims of access and healthy living.

Subsequently the linking of cultural economics with creative and artistic activity in the UK, evidenced in the DCMS paper published in 2001, has been continually reinforced by reports issued by policy makers and industry bodies. This has also been the case for dance (e.g. ACE, 2006; Burns, 2007; Burns & Harrison, 2009).

The rhetoric displayed in key German policy texts was primarily rational highlighting the objective to improve dance infrastructure and raise its profile at a federal and political level¹²⁶. However, the rhetoric associated with the core Tanzplan texts, particularly at the initiation of the programme reflected significant ethical and emotive rhetoric¹²⁷. Ethical language was used to support the initiative’s contribution to dance and education training throughout Germany, whilst a call to potential comrades-in-arms underlined the notion of fighting for a greater cause and one that rises above previously entrenched attitudes to dance amongst a broad range of parties. In the concluding document the text combined a political rationale (i.e. Tanzplan only came into existence because of federal, cultural and political support) with an emotive rhetoric that highlighted the initiative’s multi-faceted, motivational role on behalf of dance in Germany.

Funding was also an important factor in both the UK and German policy texts. Implicit in its application was the notion that it is a form of pedagogic practice. In the core UK text funding was first presented as an issue that dance organizations must address in terms of reducing their reliance in future on subsidies if they were to continue to thrive (HC 587-I, 2004, pp.27-29). Secondly, the discourse took advantage of the ambiguous definition of dance to advocate efforts to find alternative, mainly commercial sources of funding and to endorse extrinsic uses for dance. This discourse was reinforced

¹²⁶ Ständige Konferenz Tanz manifesto: published 19 April 2006. Accessed at <http://www.dance-germany.org> and PuK, 2008: Available at http://www.kulturrat.de/puk_liste.php.

¹²⁷ <http://www.tanznetz.de/tanzszene.phtml?page=showthread&aid=136&tid=9172>.

in various publications that described funding eligibility criteria and underscored the legitimacy of the original text in terms of meeting policy objectives including value for money considerations, for example, in Arts Council of Northern Ireland, Five Year Plan 2001-2006; Other sources of funding; ACE, 2008 and The National Portfolio Funding Programme, Guidance for Applicants, ACE, 2010, pp.5-10.

In a German arts context the importance of funding and the forms it can take were expressed as part of the roles played by the Foundation of the Länder (Kulturstiftung der Länder) and the Federal Cultural Foundation (Kulturstiftung des Bundes) (Burns & van der Will, 2003, p.138). Within the context of the Tanzplan initiative, which was initiated by the Kulturstiftung des Bundes, the principle of Matched Funding was positioned as a vital element of the programme in terms of encouraging co-operation between applicants. Assessment criteria were not explicitly described by Tanzplan in allocating funding, but the projects selected for support did reflect common policy objectives. Although Tanzplan accepted an instrumental role as a funder it foregrounded other roles, one of which was effectively a prototype for a national dance department, to legitimate cultural and dance policy aims and to argue for continuity of the measures supported by the programme.

8.2.4 Impact on Legitimacy and Identity of Insurgent Logics

The insurgent logic of the social-market corresponds to instrumental social welfare and commercial aims embedded in policy and supporting texts in both the UK and Germany. Furthermore the discourse concerning the Creative Industries is more pronounced in the UK policy texts than in Germany and represents the entrepreneurial discourse that privileges success in the market (Burns, 2007; Burns & Harrison, 2009) as an equal source of legitimacy alongside artistic success (Townley et al., 2009, p.955).

The responses by the case example organizations in both countries evidenced compliance with the insurgent logic to varying degrees. However, the determinants that influenced the extent of adoption echoed the institutional provenance and historical trajectories of cultural policy in both countries.

8.2.4.1 Legitimacy and Identity Issues in the UK

In the UK the responses of Dance Umbrella and The Place to current cultural policy priorities are indicative of their origins. Whilst both organizations experienced significant difficulties in the early years of their existence a combination of the functions they perform as well as funding priorities have influenced the way in which they established and maintain their legitimacy and identity in the UK contemporary dance sector.

Dance Umbrella was launched to showcase new work by performers who had not yet come to prominence and simultaneously to demonstrate that there was sufficient public interest in contemporary dance to justify publicly funded support. Nevertheless, the festival was created first and foremost around the interests and needs of contemporary dance performers and continues to concentrate on enabling established and emerging artists to perform at a professional, high profile festival in a major world capital. Declarations on the Dance Umbrella web site about accessibility and affordability are coupled with unequivocal statements about the festival's remit to support the nurturing of artistic talent¹²⁸. Resistance to being appropriated as a vehicle for social welfare policy is illustrated in a 2003 interview with Val Bourne, one of the festival's original founders and its first artistic director in response to a question about the impact of the Cultural Diversity agenda on the arts and dance:

“I feel sometimes that the arts generally, not just dance, are used as a kind of social sticking plaster, the arts has to compensate for all the other things that our society does not do” (Bourne, 2003).

Diversity of programming and a commitment to commissioning and staging new work continued to form an important part of the rhetoric of Dance Umbrella even in the wake of the severe funding cuts announced in March 2011. At this point however the Festival faced a dilemma, similar to the one in 2006, about its future direction. It could continue to develop audiences by staging increasingly populist events alongside performances by established artists or return to its roots as a talent scout for new artists and works. The approach taken in the schedule for the 2012 Festival suggested the latter with

¹²⁸Dance Umbrella web-site: <http://www.danceumbrella.co.uk/page/2/About+Us>. [Accessed July 17 2013].

an emphasis on innovation, emerging talent and artistic experimentation that appeared, according to the critical responses, to favour the artist over the audience (Smith, 2012; Crompton, 2012). Thus, whilst having accommodated insurgent logics in its rhetoric and programming throughout most of the 1990s and 2000s, the response to the upheaval in UK cultural policy priorities and funding has been to reinforce the Festival's original, intrinsic identity and base its legitimacy once more on a role as the UK's leading promoter of new or contemporary dance and performers.

The Place is the UK's oldest contemporary dance organization and undertakes a wide range of activities encompassing conservatoire training to research. Originally founded as a contemporary dance school it soon embraced a multi-disciplinary approach to dance, which continues to this day. The rhetoric used in various texts describing The Place's role combined rationales that accommodated both intrinsic and extrinsic logics. Logically it performs a role as a facilitator and presenter of dance as well as a resource of knowledge. This embraces both artists and members of the public. Ethically, it feels a sense of duty towards the public (audiences and participants) and artists to continue its work in the future. Emotionally it appeals to artists in referencing its part in stimulating creativity, striving for technical excellence and nurturing talent and linking this appeal to the notion of enriching the lives of the public (Tharp, 2010; The Place's web-site). This multi-faceted identity, whilst challenged as a result of more instrumental cultural policy and reductions in funding, is also a strength. The unique range of activities undertaken by The Place as well as its sense of physical place provide a reserve for the organization to draw on to reinforce its identity. Furthermore, the multiple functions that The Place performs also serve as a basis for its claims on legitimacy. Its evolution into a leading contemporary dance school was partially contingent on historical developments in the UK dance sector and formed the core of its profile today. However, its ability to absorb additional roles, e.g. as a performance venue and technical facility, is a resource that the organization can and does use to accommodate cultural policy. Conversely, the apparent prioritisation of extrinsic logics that favoured 'cultural educators' over performers and choreographers conflicted with The Place's main role as a conservatoire. Thus, although The Place provides facilities for the general public to participate in dance and has collaborated with specialists on the LearnPhysical programme

its identity is clearly linked to excellence in dance, through innovation and performance. The 20% cut meted out to The Place in March 2011 elicited frustration and concern about the future from its management¹²⁹. As in the case of Dance Umbrella the definition of success appeared to have been altered by the ACE's distribution of funding. As a result the intrinsic criteria of professional excellence appeared under threat from an increased demand to see proof of The Place's economic competence in managing with less funding.

8.2.4.2 Legitimacy and Identity Issues in Germany

For the two German cases examples, HZT and the Berlin contemporary dance scene represented by TanzRaumBerlin, questions of legitimacy and identity hinged on the extent of their association with state and institutional arrangements governing support and funding of the arts. The first, the HZT Berlin pilot Tanzplan project example, traced the initial stages of evolution of the school from pilot project to hybrid institution during the five years of the Tanzplan programme. The second, TanzRaumBerlin, gave a voice to artists who operate mainly as freelancers and who normally work outside institutional confines, but were drawn into the Tanzplan programme through regional projects like the Berlin-Potsdam residency initiative and specific projects aimed at improving the resources available to artists such as the www.dance-germany.org and www.tanznetz.de web-sites (Tanzplan 2011, [8], p.25).

The HZT was established to close a gap in the state provision of contemporary dance education and training in Germany's capital. This placed the pilot project in the unique position of being able to influence its own identity and the criteria for assessing its legitimacy once it was established as a functioning institution. The relative autonomy afforded the project, because it was already part of a defined cultural policy project, meant that the creative development process guiding the specification of the courses moved in unison with the more instrumental demands of defining suitable course evaluation criteria. In spite of having to conform to a variety of governance requirements in order to qualify for on-going funding from Berlin's cultural and political

¹²⁹ See: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/culture/culture-cuts-blog/2011/mar/30/arts-council-funding-decision-day-cuts>. [Accessed 1 April 2013].

sponsors, the HZT was able to create a hybrid identity for itself as an interdisciplinary site for dance education, scholarship and training. The location of the HZT, on the site of a former public transport depot in a working class district of Berlin, not only imbued the centre with an unconventional image, it also contributed to an identity of place that was mirrored in the unusual combined staging of lectures and dance events, intended to encourage the participation of the public in both practical and scholarly terms. In combining socially inclusive activities with conservatoire-type experiences the HZT achieved a rare harmony between the aesthetic-artistic logic and the instrumental social-market logic. The HZT has now established itself and is able to maintain the hegemonic position of the artist as well as comply simultaneously with three of the discourses that defined the discourse identified in the Tanzplan texts, namely, dance education and training, sustainability and scholarship.

For the freelance sector the perceived independence from the institutionalised dance scene was a clear determinant for the way in which members of this grouping regarded themselves. Rather than the freelance sector appropriating aspects of cultural policy discourse, we saw the establishment in Berlin appropriating the vibrant contemporary dance scene to market the city (Wellershaus, 2012a, p.1). The apparent lack of financial support for the freelance sector, in spite of the Tanzplan programme, culminated in the formation of a trans-disciplinary arts coalition that sought to challenge the instrumental categorisation of the arts for the purposes of facilitating cultural and economic management of the arts in Berlin. However, the primacy of the individual over the collective was visible in the disagreements within the freelance coalition over the extent to which socio-economic objectives and performance should influence the allocation of subsidies, in contrast to those who saw a fully commercial Creative Industries' approach as the only way to avoid the constant pressure to justify funding and evidence results (Wesemann, 2012, p.3).

Another source of tension for the German sector was the definition and scope of 'cultural education' as a unifying term for cultural policy and dance. Whereas dance scholars and some practitioners justified Community Dance as an essential part of expanding the cultural and artistic experience beyond that exemplified by the choreographer-performer, others questioned the impact on the autonomy and consequently, legitimacy of dance artists when education

became the dominant logic (Foellmer, 2009, p.3). Indeed some artists were not convinced of the logical connection between art and social engagement (Wellershaus, 2008, p.1). Resistance to the genre community dance amongst artists was centred on perceived differences in quality and seriousness of the artistic undertaking. This rationale was countered by the ethical and emotive perspective forwarded by practising community dance teachers who regarded the genre as contributing to both their personal development and that of the people they worked with (Walter; Curtis; Bilbao, 2008, p.2).

Responses to attachment policies featured in Tanzplan that focused on social inclusivity and access through specific forms of dance practice like community dance were more sceptical than in the UK, suggesting that there was a greater sense of artistic autonomy and independence amongst Berlin's dance artists than in the UK. Amongst dance pedagogues generally there was a more ambiguous tone as the identity of the dance teacher and perceived grounds for claiming legitimacy varied subtly depending on the application of different methods to the teaching of young people or amateurs or to the teaching of professional dancers (Witte, 2010a, p.2; Lipsker [cited in Witte 2010b, p.13]).

8.2.5 Impact on Artistic and Organizational Practices of Insurgent Logics?

A fundamental difference between the UK and Germany discourses related to the degree of synonymy between the terms 'artistic' and 'creative'. In the UK the publication of the DCMS paper in 2001 on culture and creativity served to amplify debates on cultural economics. In contrast, in Germany a direct link between artistic creativity and economic success was less overt, although an initiative called 'Kultur und Kreativwirtschaft' was launched jointly by the Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Technologie (Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology) and the Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Kultur und Medien (Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media) in 2008 that is active primarily as an information

resource, advisory service and intermediary between policy makers and representatives from business, local government and creative professionals¹³⁰.

Central to the debate about the term ‘practice’ in the UK policy debate was the concept of creativity and how it was defined in policy texts and applied in the responses by dance sector practitioners to artistic practice. The commercialisation of culture and its association with the ambiguity of the term ‘creativity’ has blurred the focus of cultural policy in the UK since the 1990s (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). This has facilitated the meronymic combination of the words ‘creative’, ‘cultural’ and ‘entrepreneur’ to signify economic or commercial characteristics in discourses that emphasise creativity.

Although artistic integrity is acknowledged as part of a multi-faceted, but ambiguous definition of the term ‘entrepreneur’, it is only one of seven characteristics cited in UK texts. This diminishes the intrinsic understanding of the role of the artist-performer in favour of non-artistic, commercial capabilities such as business management (Burns, 2007). ‘Entrepreneur’ and ‘entrepreneurialism’ are therefore concepts that become discursive resources for protagonists in the dance field who are seeking to overcome the traditional hegemony of the choreographer-dancer and his or her command of practice in aesthetic-artistic terms in order to promote and legitimate other forms of professionalism. This in turn reinforced the funding discourses that sought to divert organizations away from public subsidy and towards commercial sources of income (HC 587-I, 2004, pp.28-29).

Both the UK case examples have staff who are responsible for the commercial management and marketing of the organizations. Communications management is another core activity for both The Place and Dance Umbrella in terms of promoting the organizations and maintaining their profiles in the cultural marketplace. For Dance Umbrella the implication of the drastic 43% cut in funding in 2011 suggested that the organization would need to adapt its business model. ACE goals citing sustainability, resilience and innovation were foregrounded in the announcements made by the ACE and implied that artistic excellence, whilst also a goal, ranked lower than socio-economic aims. At this juncture Dance Umbrella was faced with the choice of increasing its commercial appeal to close the funding gap, and therefore by implication,

¹³⁰ Source: <http://www.kultur-kreativ-wirtschaft.de/>. [Accessed 16 September 2013].

make itself vulnerable to populist demands, or retain its artistic integrity and autonomy. Its response was to stage a festival reminiscent of its early days and focus on new work and emerging performers. Ironically, this resulted in critique (Crompton, 2012) also reminiscent of the reaction to the Festival's first year in 1978 when members of the audience walked out of a performance by the experimentalist American performer Douglas Dunn (Rowell, 2000, p.36).

The Place is an organization that represents the sum of many parts. Its wide range of facilities and services, for both dance students and the general public, require a range of administrative and creative skills to make the organization function effectively. Services for dancers, teachers and students are available under the moniker *Juice* on the main web-site and cover a range of topics from auditions, professional development opportunities through to job vacancies in arts administration, funding sources and fact sheets.

In Germany, the HZT, represents an interesting example of institutional founding and evolution. During its four-year pilot phase the main objective was to research and test various degree programmes. The inherently experimental nature of the development process belied the necessity of defining standardised assessment measures to evaluate the courses in terms of, e.g. attendance (Cramer, 2008, p.8). The nature of some courses, such as the practitioner-oriented MA in Solo Dance and Authorship (SODA), which combines research into artistic practice, personal performance experimentation and dance practice, highlighted the difficulties of applying homogenising institutional practices to enable comparison and evaluation. Indeed, the esoteric nature of much of the debate about dance education and training disguised the taken-for-grantedness amongst scholars and artists that dance training and its teaching are practices that are equally available to and understood by all participants. Arguably the relevance of the habitus of both performers and audiences and participants becomes a cogent element in the design of dance teaching methods and their practise.

The pilot phase of HZT described a creative process at odds with extrinsic, instrumental forms of creative assessment, but with which it now complies in order to be and remain eligible for public funding. The location of the HZT is also a contributing factor to both its identity and practice. It provides students and professional freelance artists with an environment that

encourages both creativity and practical exchange of ideas as well as facilities that are available to former students beyond graduation to help them transition more successfully to a professional, working life. Furthermore, the staging of events that allow the general public to participate in lectures and attend a performance or event also accentuated the HZT's hybridity of practice and identity.

For freelancers in Berlin the effect on creative practice was determined to a large extent by the availability of funds for their work. Issues concerning distribution of subsidies amongst the city's cultural institutions and artistic organizations triggered the founding of the 'Coalition of the Freelance Scene' (Wellershaus, 2012a; Wesemann, 2012). This alliance brought together independent artists from all genres who recognised the need to find a form of advocacy for the freelance scene in Berlin. This was the first time that such a collaboration had occurred, borne out of the difficulty that many independent artists experience in trying to earn a living. The publication of the coalition's manifesto voiced demands that demonstrated resistance to the economic imperatives that increasingly drive cultural policy, but also signalled clearly that arts management in Berlin should be devolved to the city's boroughs rather than be managed by a single entity responsible for cultural policy in the city.

For artists involved in Tanzplan the challenge of achieving a balance between artistic independence and compliance with funding requirements and the measurement of outcomes was illustrated by the Potsdam artists-in-residence programme. In this example the struggle to secure permanent funding for the initiative was countered by the perceived lack of tangible benefits for the town and the fleeting nature of the artists' association with Potsdam (Schwartz, 2010; Melzig, 2010). For the artists themselves the ephemeral nature of their residency forced many to move on without establishing a permanent relationship with the organisers of the programme. The temporary, project-oriented working of many independent artists was clearly at odds with the expectations of the sponsors that artists remain linked to a particular institution and location.

8.2.6 Implications for Relative Power Positions in the Dance Field

In both the UK and Germany artists and artistic organizations who are reliant on public subsidy to maintain their activities have adopted legitimization strategies that either attempt to maintain or strengthen their historic status and roles. Thus, in the UK Dance Umbrella and The Place use rhetoric that emphasises their unique provenance and role in championing innovation and excellence in the genre of contemporary or new dance and call for a continuation of the same.

Equally practitioners in the community dance field argue for greater recognition as dance professionals for their role in extending the reach and benefits of dance beyond the performance stage. In the UK the advocacy for Community Dance is well organised and well established. However, within the dance field the status of the choreographer-performer remains hegemonic, reinforced by degree-level qualifications and access to high profile venues, competitions and festivals.

Although ostensibly objective in its support for dance as an art form as well as a physical and sporting activity, UK cultural policy texts consistently emphasise more extrinsic values for dance, which in the context of historical attitudes towards the arts in the UK simply represent an extension of the instrumentalism first seen during the Second World War. The centralised nature of policy making and implementation facilitates the combination of discourses to reinforce the emphasis placed on specific aspects of policy. Thus, from a chronological perspective the new public management focus on performance and efficiency that originated with the administration of the Conservatives during the 1980s and 1990s was reinforced and adapted through the Third Way ideology introduced by the Labour Party from 1997 onwards.

In turn the concept of entrepreneurialism, positioned as a response to increased competition for all sectors of society and the economy, was gradually absorbed into discourses that promulgated a more commercial, profit-oriented stance towards culture and the arts, whether in the private or in the public sector spheres. Several policy-related texts were written during the early 2000s (DCMS, 2001; Siddall, 2001; McGuigan, 2005; Galloway & Dunlop, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2005) that contextualised this instrumentalism for different areas of the cultural sector. For dance the seminal text, i.e. HC 587-I, albeit

derived from previous discourses, was the culmination of these debates. Subsequent policy statements and initiatives reflect this synthesis.

In Germany similar cultural trends and developments to the UK were apparent, for example, the pedagogic effect of funding and project applications putting the same kind of pressure on performers to achieve popular success, leaving them little time to reflect on the artistic or aesthetic integrity of their work (Vogel, 2012). However, in contrast to the UK there was a distinct dichotomy between intrinsic and extrinsic policy objectives that was not only tolerated, but also encouraged by both policy makers, cultural administrators, scholars and to some extent performers themselves. Thus, in the Tanzplan programme a diverse set of projects were selected for sponsorship that represented a broad spectrum of artistic and social welfare priorities.

Moreover, whilst the creative or cultural industries' debate is an important factor underlying cultural policy in Germany, it is not the primary driver. The overarching theme that signifies the debates is one of 'cultural education'. This theme binds intrinsic cultural ambitions and policy making with extrinsic ones. The responsibility for promoting these 'ambitions' is divided between different federal and regional bodies, mainly as a result of the constitutional arrangements regarding cultural policy making. Exemplifying this with the case of the Tanzplan programme we observed that whilst national impulses for dance policy originated with a federal body, the responsibility for implementation lay at a regional or municipal level. Definition of requirements and criteria for success were specific to the project and location and not imposed via a central government function, as in the UK. Even as a representative of the government Tanzplan was not empowered to impose, only to mediate between groups and achieve a consensus. The dominant discourse that the leaders of the programme promoted, i.e. one of advocacy was ignored in the responses by dance practitioners, whether institutional or freelance. Issues of sustainability, education and training and dance scholarship were the discourses most frequently alluded to, directly and indirectly, in the response texts and also mirror the concerns of the UK sector (Foellmer, 2009, pp.2-3; Witte, 2010, p.2).

Furthermore, whereas Tanzplan became the focal point for many of the debates surrounding dance in Germany, the role of a similar unifying force in the UK was absent. Different interest groups in the UK continue to pursue

dialogues independently of each other with governmental bodies like ACE. Only two significant unifying initiatives were launched during the period under examination, namely Dance Manifesto in 2006 which advocated support for UK dance on the basis of its alignment with government policy and secondly, the “Brand Dance” declaration in 2012, which proposed a strategy of unification based on a generic focus on dance to increase awareness and appeal amongst audiences (Watts, 2012). Notably whilst the first initiative emphasised the contribution that dance as an art form made to society the second suggested that there was confusion about the definition and diversity of dance, making a unified branding necessary. This contrasted with earlier attempts to stress the diversity of dance as a factor that made it inclusive and accessible (ACE, 2006). The definitional issue mirrored the concerns voiced in the 2004 policy text and implied that the positioning of dance in the UK was still weak in spite of the policy discourses generated in support of it. This was also evidenced in the experiences of Dance Umbrella and The Place as sites where dance’s aesthetic-artistic logic were contested by an insurgent social-market logic that effectively exploited the weak position of dance to gain compliance with policy objectives.

8.3 Main Contributions and Implications

Using a synthesis of institutional logics and historic institutionalism and sociological theory based on the work of Pierre Bourdieu we examined how cultural policy affected claims to legitimacy, identity and practice in two national contexts, the UK and Germany and established why there were variations in the consequences of policy implementation in both countries. The work contributes to existing literature on cultural policy governance by illustrating in two context-specific settings the variation in implementation impact due to notions of legitimacy, identity and practice that are historically, culturally and politically contingent. It also identifies a means to create stronger links between institutional theory and cultural studies using contemporary dance as a test case for the analysis, particularly in relation to the multi-level analysis of legitimacy, identity and aesthetic-artistic practice.

Contributions to theory, empirical work on institutional logics in the cultural sector and cultural policy implications are discussed in the following sections.

8.3.1 Theoretical Contributions

This dissertation has used an integrated institutional logics framework based on Thornton et al.'s (2012) proposition. We have extended the model to include both a historical institutionalist perspective and Bourdieu's concept of capital as a means to investigate conflict and tension when organizations and actors address the challenge of insurgent logics. The extended framework enabled us to examine the intrinsic versus extrinsic arguments for the arts in contexts that are sensitive to a variety of determining factors and illustrate how the relative positioning of institutions, organizations and actors can vary according to the influence of these factors on existing logics.

The framework also mitigated weaknesses in existing literature on institutional logics by demonstrating how the integrated framework can be operationalised using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis method, which facilitates both micro- and macro-level discourse analysis. This makes it applicable in contexts where a multi-level analysis is being sought, as is the case in this thesis.

A third contribution to the literature on rhetorical strategies and their use in conducting institutional work (Brown et al., 2012; Motion & Leitch, 2009) demonstrated how variations in the stress placed on different types of rhetoric can be used to give sense to a discourse and to reinforce it so as to indicate what or who is being privileged in the discourse. For example, the funding issue in the UK was addressed using logical rationales in the original government paper based on improving commercial capabilities amongst organizations in the dance sector (HC 587-I, 2004, pp.28-29). In subsequent practitioner reports the language used reflected a greater emphasis on emotional rhetoric to associate commercial competence with creativity and entrepreneurialism (Burns, 2007, p.7). In the case examples we observed how the interpretation and prominence given to this discourse varied, either tending to be appropriated into organizational structures and texts to show compliance

with the social-market logic (Tharp, 2011) or being exploited to challenge the traditional hegemony of the choreographer-artist (Burns & Harrison, 2009, p.118).

Fourthly the research has given additional insight into the key determinants that inform cultural governance, its structures and processes. We have shown that the historical contingency of some aspects of cultural governance are critical to the balance of power between institutions and the fields they seek to influence. This speaks to the concerns raised by Pratt (2005, p.35) regarding cultural policy implementation.

8.3.2 Empirical Contributions

The choice of a hybrid research strategy combining a comparative-historical approach with the case study method provided a context for both the institutional-level policy text analysis and the practice-focused analysis conducted at the organizational and actor levels. Although the objective of the study was not to generate generalisable insights, the analysis indicated which determinants are of significance in implementing cultural policy and the impact that policy outcomes might have on organizations. We focused on a negative comparison to identify not only similarities, but also differences between the two national contexts as we assumed a particularist stance from the outset. The main common assumption was that the cultural policy initiatives launched in the UK and Germany were both in response to the overarching new public management and globalization discourses that have become prevalent amongst mainly Western governments since the 1990s.

The particularist perspective is important as it rejects a reductionist argument that frequently presents funding levels as the primary determinant influencing policy making and its implementation. This research has shown that the picture is much more nuanced and should consider other factors as well when comparisons at a cross-national level are made.

The study has also shown how political discourses originating in the cultural studies and dance fields can inform organizational theory and the exploration of logics through the perspective of the individual body. In other words, whilst organizational studies frequently concentrate on the collective as

the main topic of interest, the insight provided by some dance scholars with regard to the body can extend research on social and artistic practice (Thomas, 2003).

8.3.3 Cultural Policy Implications

The findings suggest that the intervention model used to disseminate and deploy cultural policy is at least as significant as the absolute levels of funding. The consensus-building, co-ordinating role of Tanzplan's protagonists in specifying the scope and content of the five-year programme and its subsequent monitoring of progress ensured that a consistent approach was maintained throughout the duration of the programme. The pedagogic effect of the Match Funding principle ensured co-operation between parties in agreeing projects jointly and continuing the co-operation throughout.

Furthermore the Tanzplan initiative opened up a way of combining institutional and freelance forms of support into a more unified model. The Creative Industries' discourse and its market logic have been most closely associated with the commercial sector in both the UK and Germany and pursued separately from other related policies. However the conflicts highlighted by the example of the freelance sector in Berlin suggest that an integrated model tempering the ambitions of cultural nationalisation with a more independent model of funding allocation and performance assessment should be explored further.

The UK intervention model is more instrumental and centralised with the attachment of cultural policy responsibility to a government department making the continuity as well as funding of cultural initiatives problematic. This manifests itself in the fragmented progress of implementing recommendations made in the 2004 government policy text. Although the reasons for this are not examined in detail the lack of a hegemonic discourse that draws all initiatives together is lacking in the UK. Whereas in Germany the unifying theme for Tanzplan from the outset was 'kulturelle Bildung' or cultural education the use of this term did not appear in UK policy discourses until much later (Henley, 2012).

8.4 Limitations and Further Research

The choice of the dance field as the environment for conducting the research was an opportunistic one and not intended as an exegesis of the dance field and its discourses. This thesis was therefore not intended as a source of detailed recommendations pertaining to dance; rather it sought to establish a link between organizational studies (in the form of institutional logics) and cultural-political arrangements using the dance field as a source of insight and example for the power relationships between dance practitioners and the cultural-political institutions that govern policy making and governance. Thus, the examination of insurgent logics and discourses in the dance sector was focused on the identity and practices that characterised the organization as a whole rather than on the practice of specific dance techniques or training methods as a means to distinguish between different organizations.

The choice of four unnormalized cases examples is a limitation on the explanatory power of the findings. However, the objective in choosing the cases was to illustrate the heterogeneity of the sector in both the UK and Germany and to describe the findings as exploratory only. An avenue for future research could therefore be one that combines questions concerning the broader spectrum of dance politics (encompassing performative identities and politics as well as institutional issues) and cultural-political discourses within an organizational setting. Another interesting area of research could consider more fully the range of logics at play within the context of contemporary dance. We limited our research to two main logics, i.e. the aesthetic-artistic and social-market. However, we accept that more differentiation between the logics would potentially yield more understanding about the strategies that organizations adopt in response to externally triggered change. However, for the purposes of this research we decided that this would unduly complicate the analysis and chose instead to adapt Fairclough's multi-level discursive method to facilitate the operationalisation of the integrated logics framework espoused by Thornton et al., (2012).

8.5 Concluding Remarks

This research has attempted to find an explanation for the apparent differences in cultural policy implementation outcomes in two countries that have adopted ostensibly similar measures in the face of challenging economic and political pressures to justify public subsidies for culture. The use of an integrated institutional logics and comparative-historical approach to the analysis has yielded insights into the nature and relative importance of the determinants that govern the effectiveness of policy interventions on the field in question. It has also suggested a methodology for exploring in more depth the question of policy outcomes and their effectiveness by linking policy and practice analysis within an integrated framework. This could include further empirical analysis based on a quantitative methodology to validate the initial exploratory findings, particularly with regard to policy determinants.

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